# A DISSERTATION

ON THE

# THEOLOGY OF THE CHINESE,

WITH A VIEW TO THE ELUCIDATION OF

THE MOST APPROPRIATE TERM FOR EXPRESSING

THE DEITY,

*IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.*

BY W. H. MEDHURST, SEN.

PRINTED AT THE MISSION PRESS.

SHANGHAE.

1847.

# PREFACE.

The following Dissertation, as the title imports, was written with the view of elucidating the views of the Chinese on the subject of theology, in order to enable Christian writers, and translators of the Scriptures, to ascertain what would be the best term by which to express the name of God, in Chinese. To set the question in a true light, it was thought necessary to refer to the classical writings, and especially those of the Confucian school; because these always have, and still do, exercise the greatest influence over the mind of China; and notwithstanding the additions of foreign religions, and (in the estimation of the Literati) heretical notions, the classics must and will form the basis of thought and expression throughout China for ages to come. This method of conducting the argument has necessarily drawn attention to the identical opinions of Chinese philosophers; and thus, independent of the discussion which called for the present essay, much is brought forward that will no doubt be interesting to the public in general, particularly to those who are enquiring into the opinions and religious sentiments of so peculiar a people as the Chinese. Having been led to explain and discuss all the passages of their classics which bear on the subject of spiritual and invisible beings, as well as those which refer to Him whom we must denominate the Supreme God, the writer has been enabled to present to view the whole body of Chinese Theology, and those who wish to acquaint themselves

with the standard and orthodox religion of China, will find in these pages enough to gratify their curiosity and to assist them in forming a judgment. It will be seen that the Confucian age, though addicted to demonolatry, was tolerably, free from idolatry, or the worship of images; while the classical writings then published contain various references to a Supreme Being, of whose attributes and perfections a tolerably complete scheme may be drawn up, altogether extracted from the classics, which shows that the ancient Chinese were not entirely ignorant of natural theology. Of course their scheme will be found defective in every thing that is peculiar to revelation, and defective as it originally was, it has been still more corrupted by the admixture of superstitions through the lapse of ages; but ascribe it to what source we may, there we find the fundamental truths of natural religion, fully equal to what the Grecian or Roman sages indited, and sufficient to testify that God has not left himself without witness in this eastern world; because "that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead; so that they are without excuse. Because that when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things; changing the truth of God into a lie, and worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen."

A DISSERTATION

# ON THE THEOLOGY OF THE CHINESE,

WITH A VIEW TO THE ELUCIDATION OF

THE MOST APPROPRIATE TERMS FOR EXPRESSING

## THE DEITY,

## *IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.*

In translating the Sacred Scriptures, into the language of China, it is necessary for the translator to place himself in the position of a native of that country, and to endeavour to ascertain how a Chinese would think and feel with regard to expressions in use among his countrymen. For, it is evident that the very best translation of a book into the langugage of any country would be one made by a native of that country, supposing him to be well acquainted with the language from which he is translating, and the subject on which it treats; the next best translation that could be made, would be one prepared by a foreigner, the most familiar with the terms and idioms of the language into which he is translating; all other qualifications being supposed to be equal, or nearly so. In a language like that of China, that possesses a varied aspect, ancient and modern, concise and colloquial, it is necessary for a translator to acquaint himself with the original uses of terms, as well as the changes which they have undergone; to konw how they are used in philosophical writings, and in every-day conversation; what they mean when used by one class of religionists, and what when em

ployed by another ; as well as all the phases which any given expression may be made to assume, according to the points of view in which it may be contemplated.

In the following pages, we shall endeavour to point out the meanings attached, by the Chinese themselves, to the different expressions employed, by Christians and others, for the purpose of expressing the Deity ; and after discussing various other terms, capable of being applied to the same object, we shall, with the knowledge thus obtained, turn to the Sacred Scriptures, and endeavour to ascertain how a Chinese would render the term, supposing him to be acquainted with the religion and animated with the spirit of the Bible.

In order to this, we shall commence with the writings of their standard philosophers, glance at the modifications which the language has sustained through the admixture of heterodox opinions, and endeavour to ascertain, what is the modern and current acceptation of terms, as the result of the above causes.

Our first discussion shall be regarding the real meaning of the term 神 Shîn, which both the early Roman Catholic, and first Protestant, writers imagined most suitable for expressing the idea of Deity.

In order to know anything about 神 shîn, we must not fail to associate it with 鬼 kweì, with which it is very generally connected in the writings of Chinese philosophers, and to which it is the antithesis. The 鬼神 kweì shîn are commonly found in juxta-position in the Chinese classics, and must be understood as referring to the theory of a dual system of the universe, entertained by the Chinese, in the same way as 天地 t'hëen té, heaven and earth, 陰陽 yîn yâng, the male and female principle of nature, &c. with which the 鬼神 kweì shîn will be found to be essentially connected.

In endeavouring to define the terms employed by Chinese authors, we must also bear in mind their theory that 人爲小天地 man is a microcosm, or heaven and earth in miniature, The same things, therefore, which

they suppose belong to a man, they are in the habit of applying to heaven and earth, and expressions must be sought, in rendering such terms into English, as would be applicable to such a double use. In some instances we may succeed, but certainly not in all, and our want of success in this particular will constitute the apparent obscurity of our definitions, to readers unacquainted with Chinese metaphysics. Another suggestion we would throw out here, viz. their thorough materialism, which binds them down to sensible objects, and prevents their conceptions from rising to any thing that is spiritual ; in using terms, therefore, which have a spiritual meaning, we must not suffer ourselves to be carried away with the idea, that the Chinese have any notion of the soul, as we Europeans understand the terms, meaning, an intelligent, immaterial and indestructible spirit ; indeed the term 靈魂 soul, used by European writers in Chinese, is not of native origin, but a collocation invented by western writers, for the purpose of expressing an idea, which the Chinese had no single term, fitted to convey. Having premised these few observations, we shall preceed to give the definition of the word 神 Shîn, as it is explained in the Imperial Dictionary.

Kang-he, in his Dictionary, after giving the sound of 神 shîn, does not, as is usual with him, go on to express the sense, by adducing a synonimous term, but quotes a phrase from the 說文 shwŏ wăn, in which the word 神 shîn occurs. The phrase is this, 天神引出萬物者也 t'hëen shîn yìn ch'hŭh wàn wŭh chày yày. In order, therefore, to understand the term in question, we must endeavour to ascertain what is the meaning of the whole sentence in which it is found, and the purpose for which it is there employed. The sentence treats of the leading out of all things, and says, that the 天神 t'hëen shîn do this. Here the term 天神 t'hëen shîn are contrasted with the 地祇 tè k'he, also called the 地神 tè shîn, which we find, by referring to the character 祇 k'he, 提出萬物者也 are those which bring up all things. Both these again are as-

sociated with the 人鬼 jîn kweì, according to the Chinese system of cosmogony, which sets forth the three powers of nature as 天地人 t'hëen tè jîn, heaven, earth, and man; and according to the 周禮 Chow lè, which says, that 天曰神地曰祇人曰鬼 those which belong to heaven are called the 神 shîn, those which belong to earth are called the 祇 k'he, and those which belong to men are called the 鬼 kweì. Now we are pretty well informed by Chinese authors, what the 鬼 kweì are, as referred to man, and reasoning from what we do know to what we do not know, we may be able to form some idea of the 神 shîn and 祇 k'he, as referred to heaven and earth. In the definition of 鬼 Kweì the Chinese employ another term, nearly similar in sound, as also in the explanation of 神 Shîn; thus, 鬼 kweì, they say, is 歸 kweì, to revert, as 神 shîn, is 伸 shin, to expand. The 鬼 kweì or 魄 pĭh in man, is the grosser part of his spiritual nature, which shrinks, shrivels up, and reverts at death to its original elements, and sinks to earth; while the 神 shîn or 魂 hwăn, is the more subtile part of his spiritual nature, which expands, diffuses itself and wanders about in space. In using the term spiritual nature, however, the reader must not suppose that the Chinese have any idea of spirit, such as we conceive, but what they mean by it is a more subtile kind of matter, finely attenuated and expanded, it is true, but still essentially matter. Thus by the 天神 t'hëen shîn, they understand the more volatile and elastic properties of the material heavens, as by the 地祇 tè k'he, they understand the more evaporatory parts of the material earth. In both instances a sort of corporeal spirit, or spiritual body, is intended. Bearing these things in view, we shall be better prepared to proceed to the interpretation of the passage above quoted by Kang-he, for the purpose of explaining or elucidating the word 神 Shîn; wherein he says, that 天神引出萬物者也 heaven's expanders are those which lead out all things. That

we are not mistaken in this translation, is evident from what follows, in the same sentence, where the lexicographer goes on to say, 申卽引也 to expand, (taking the primitive of the character 神 Shîn to indicate its general sense), means to lead forth; for 天主降氣以感萬物 heaven's principal business is to send down its breath or energies in order to influence all things, 故言引出萬物 therefore it is said, to lead forth all things. In this definition of 神 shîn, which constitutes the first class of meanings to which the lexicographer refers, we are not to suppose that the Shin are the powers that move and expand the heavens, but the properties or energies employed by heaven in expanding all things. It is heaven that sends down its 氣 energies to influence or lead forth all things, and the Shîn are the energies thus employed. Let not the European reader suppose that by 天神 t'hëen shîn, in the above are quotation, the writer means angel, or by 天主 t'hëen choó, God, as these terms have sprung entirely from the inventions of Christians, and are not in such collocation and acceptance Chinese.

We now pass on to the second definition of 神 shîn, given in the Imperial Dictionary, as follows; 天之神棲乎日人之神棲乎目 t'hëen che shîn tse hoo jih, jîn che shîn tse hoo mŭh; where we suppose the writer by the word 神 shîn to mean, "animal spirits," and would render the passage thus, "the animal spirits of the heavens dwell in the sun, as the animal spirits of the man rests in the eye;" from which we understand the writer to mean, that, as by the vivacity or dulness of the eye we perceive the elasticity or depression of man's spirits, so, by the shining or withdrawing of the sun, we ascertain the expansion or contraction of the energies of uature. The third class of definitions given in Kang-he, to 神 shîn, is that of 神明 shîn mîng inscrutably intelligent and clear. In elucidating which he quotes the 書經 Shoo-king, where 堯 Yaôu is said to be 乃聖乃神 sage like and inscru-

tably intelligent. The Commentator, on this passage, says, that speaking of his greatness and capability of reforming mankind, he is called sagelike ; and speaking of his sagelike qualities, and of his being above common apprehension, he is called inscrutably intelligent. The lexicographer then quotes another work, saying that 聖無所不通神妙無方 sagelike means understanding every thing, inscrutably mysterious, and not to be calculated on. In which sentence 神 shîn is only brought in as a quality of the sage, and does not mean a separate divine power. Under the same head, Kang-he quotes another passage, from the 易經 Yĭh-king, to the effect that 陰陽不測之謂神 whatever is inscrutable in the male and female principle of nature is called 神 shîn. By the inscrutable here mentioned, however, is not meant that which is mysterious in the ways of Providence, or above human comprehension in the divine procedure, but such things as are not distinctly referable either to the male or female principle of nature, but seem to be a mixture of both ; as the Commentator says, 物有定則可測可測不足以言神 when things are settled to one point they may be scrutinized, and that which may be scrutinized is not worthy of being denominated 神 inscrutable. Futher he quotes another work, saying 神也者變化之極妙萬物而為言不可以形詰 that which is inscrutable is the utmost point of change, it may be said to be more mysterious than all surrounding objects, and cannot be judged of by visible appearances. By 變化 pëén hwá in the above sentence, is meant a departure from the usual order of things, that cannot be definitely ascribed to one or the other principle of nature ; this is said to be mysterious and scrutable, and not to be judged of by usual appearances. Under this head, the compiler of the Dictionary gives another quotation from 孟子 Mencius, stating that 聖而不可知之謂神 sagelike and not to be comprehended by other, is called inscrutably

intelligent. In this connection the writer is describing the different steps of attainment in virtue, such as 善 good, 信 sincere, 美 excellent, 大 great, 聖 sagelike, and 神 inscrutable; the latter of which, however, is not to be considered a step in advance of the one preceding it, but only a new feature of it. The Commentator on this passage says, that "sagelike and incomprehensible is the most mysterious quality of a sage, that which people cannot fathom. It does not mean that above the sagelike individual, there is another class of men who may be called the inscrutably intelligent." In all this we do not see any thing supernatural or divine; the inscrutable in nature, according to Chinese ideas is the mysterious departure from the usual order of things, but still that which nature produces, though out of its usual course; and the inscrutable in human beings is the height of intelligence, but still that which man is capable of, unaided from above, and therefore not superhumam.

In the next definition of 神 Shîn, given in the Dictionary, we meet with 鬼神 kweì shîn, under which the writer says, 陽魂爲神陰魄爲鬼 the more subtile spiritual part of the male principle of nature is called the 神 shîn, and the grosser spiritual part of the female principle of nature is called the 鬼 kweì; again, lest we should suppose that any thing purely spiritual was intended by the 魂 hwăn and 魄 pĭh, he says, 氣之伸者爲神屈者爲鬼 the expanding qualities of the energy of nature are called the 神 shîn, and its contracting qualities the 鬼 kweì.

The compiler of the Dictionary goes on to give the meaning of 神 shîn, as found in epitaphs and posthumous titles, saying, that in such acceptance that which the people can find no proper name for is called 神 shín; hence 熙寧 He-ning, of the 宋 Sùng dynasty, and 萬歷 Wàn-leĭh, of the 明 Mîng dynasty, were both called 神宗 Shin tsung; not, it would appear, on account of their good qualities, for they were bad rulers,

but because their decendants, in giving them posthumous honours, did not know how rightly to denominate them, and therefore called them by the above title. 神 Shîn is also used as a surname. And when the sound is altered from shîn to shin, it is the proper name of a sea god, as in the sentence quoted in the Dictionary 神荼副焉 Shin Shoo foò yen "may Shin and Shoo aid you." The remainder of the article in Kang-he on the word 神 shîn has merely reference to the different sounds which are given to the character to make it rhyme in poetry.

From all this we do not perceive that the Lexicographer gives the meaning of the Supreme Power to the word Shîn ; before, however, proceeding to the absolute definition of the term, let us endeavour to ascertain what meaning is to be attached to it when found in the writings of Confucius. In the 中庸 Chung yûng, Haypy medium, the compilation of which is ascribed to one of the immediate disciples of Confucius, and in which the words of the sage are frequently quoted, we find a whole chapter on the subject of the 鬼神 kweì shîn, as follows :

In the first section, " Confucius said, How full and complete are the energies of the 鬼神 kweì shîn !"

The commentator, Chîng tszè, tells us that the 鬼神 kweì shîn are the energetic operations of heaven and earth, and the traces of production and transformation, (or the exhibitions of nature's efforts in bringing forth and changing the forms of things). The Commentator Chang-tszé says, that the 鬼神 kweì shîn are the energetic powers of the two principles of nature ; upon which Choo-foo-tszè remarks : If you view them in the light of a double power, then the 鬼 kweì is the spiritual or vital part of the female principle, and the 神 shîn, the spiritual or vital part of the male principle ; but if you consider them as but one principle, then that which advances and expands is the 神 shîn, and that which returns and reverts is the 鬼 kweì ; in fact they constitute but one 物 thing. On the expression 爲德 energies, Choo remarks, that it is the same as to say, the result of the efforts of nature. The paraphrase on this section runs thus " Tsze-sze, (the compiler of the Chung yung, or Happy medium,) quotes here what Confucius says of the Kweì Shîn, to show that the 道 taòu or

principle of reason, combines the 隱 diffuse, and 費 the concealed, and includes both the small and the great (in nature); hence he says, That betwixt heaven and earth, that which contracts and expands, advances and recedes, is doubtless the 氣 breath or energy of the male and female principle of nature, and the most 靈 efficacious part of that principle is called the Kweì Shîn. Now the energies of the Kweì Shîn are at the extreme limit of nothing, and yet constitute the highest degree of existence; are superlatively unsubstantial, and yet thoroughly most real; for they carry to the utmost the perfection of fulness and pervasion.

To the paraphrase are appended some critical remarks, as follows: "The Kweì Shîn are merely 屈伸之氣 the expanding and contracting energies of the male and female principle of nature; and they are called Kweì Shîn, contracters and expanders, simply because of their subtile character, and pervading quality. Ching-tsze, in his remarks, has alluded mainly to the visibility of their display, and Chang-tsze, principally to the spontaneity of their operations; but these energies, though divided into two, are really but one in action; therefore Choo-foo-tsze considers them as conjoined, and constituting one 氣 energy; if we unite the explanations of these two commentators, (Ching and Chang) we shall have a correct idea of the Kweì Shîn. The text speaks of the 德 virtue or energy of the Kweî Shîn, to show that they are not to be divided into two. The word 德 virtue merely refers to the 氣 energy of the Kweì Shîn, and their 誠 sincerity is not here spoken of, to show that their energy is indeed their sincerity. Their fulness and perfection may be seen in the following section, which treats of their embodying all things without exception. Choo-foo-tszè has said, that there is not a single thing between heaven and earth, in which there is not the Kweì Shîn; for all the accessions of 氣 energy belong to the male principle, and constitute the Shîn, while all the subsidings of this energy belong to the female principle, and form the Kweì. Thus the day during the forenoon is Shîn, and the afternoon Kweì; the moon in its waxings is the Shîn, and in its wanings the Kweì; the sun and moon, when contrasted with each other, constitute, the former the Shîn, and the latter the Kweì; trees just budding forth are the Shîn, and when withering and drooping the Kweì; man, from youth to manhood, is in the Shin, and when old age creeps on that is the Kwei; in the breath, the expirations are the Shîn, and the inspirations the Kweì; we may also say, that the 魄 nervous fluid belongs to the Kweì, and the 氣 animal spirits tot he Shîn. Human speech and action, being connected with the animal spirits, belong to the Shin, while the serum and blood, originating in the nervous fluid, may be referred to the Kwei; indeed all displays of energy belong to the male principle of nature, and constitute the Shîn; but whenever these energies settle into quiescence, as they belong to the female principle of nature, they form the Kweì. Knowledge is Shîn, and memory is Kweì. 天地之

功用 " The energetic operations of heaven and earth" are the 造化之迹 " exhibitions of production and change" observable in nature ; 造化 "production" and " change" refer to the action of heaven and earth; 造 " production" is the bringing of things from nothing into being ; 化 " change" is the altering of things from being to non-existence.* 功用 "Energetic operations", refer to the coming of heat and the departure of cold ; the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon, the buddings of spring, the growings of summer, are all actions of this kind ; wind and rain, frost and dew, the sun and moon, day and night, these are the exhibitions referred to. The two 氣 energies, point to the 良能 energetic powers of the male and female principle of nature, meaning, that their advancings and recedings, expandings and contractings are spontaneous, without any disposition or arrangement. " The exhibitions of production and change" refer to this expanding and contracting ; " the energetic powers of the two principles," refer to their being able to expand and contract. Chîng-tszè merely speaks of the exhibition of their expandings and contractings ; but Chang-tszè talks further of their 靈 efficaciousness or vitality. Efficaciousness or vitality is merely the spontaneity of this advancing and receding, expanding and contracting, as if it were alive. The two 氣 energies, refer to the correspondency of the male and female principles of nature; the one 氣 energy to the movement of those principles. For the two energies are really one. Speaking of them as one, then, the energy just issuing forth has its expandings and its contractings, and this incipient expansion is the Shîn of the Shîn ; or expansion of the expanding principle ; after it has expanded fully, it is called the Kweì of the Shîn, or the contraction of the expanding principle ; when the energies begin to contract, there are still some expansions and contractions, but when it is fully contracted, this entire contraction is the Kweì of the Kweì, contraction of the contracting principle. The subsequent coming forth of the contracting principle is the Shîn of the Kweì, expansion of the contracting principle. The 不見不聞 "invisible and inaudi-

---

* The words 造化 tsaou hwa, here translated "production and change," are not to be rendered " creation and transformation ;" for the Chinese have no idea of creation, as we understand it ; viz. the bringing of this world into existence. It is true, the writer above quoted explains production by the bringing of something out of nothing ; but by that the Chinese mean, the birth of animals, the springing up of plants, the advancing of the tides, or the blowing of the winds, where to all appearance nothing was before. They do not mean by it, the original formation of all things, but the constant production of things observable every day. This they ascribe to the energies of the Kweì Shîn, under the direction and by the aid of a superior power.

ble" of the Kwei and Shin, is their 性情 natural constitution. Their 體物不遺 "being inherent in all things," is the 功效 result of their operations. 蔡許齊 Tsaé-heù-tsae says, that the one phrase "embodying all things without exception" exhausts the subject: for since there really exists 物 matter, then there really exists this 氣 energy of nature; and since there is this energy, there must be the 理 fitness of things; and that which fills all between heaven and earth is the expanding and contracting, the advancing and receding of this one 氣機 energetic mechanism of nature. This is what the 理 principle of order rests in, which is essentially inherent in all things, and the same throughout all time; verifying the expression, that the one male and one female principle of nature constitute the 道 eternal reason, which must not for a moment be lost sight of.

In order to understand the preceding account of the Kweì Shîn, it will be necessary to advert to the Chinese theory of the existence of the universe. According to the Confucian cosmogony, the 太極 Extreme Point produced the 兩儀 two figures, the diagram for one of which is an extended line ———, and for the other a broken line — —; they are also called 陰陽 yin yang, the male and female principle of nature; as well as 二氣 the two energies, and are synonimous with 天地 heaven and earth, or the visible universe. The 兩儀 two figures, produced the 四像 four forms, the diagrams for which are two extended lines ⚌ and two broken ones ⚏, with one extended line over a broken one ⚎, and one broken line over an extended one ⚍. These are severally denominated the 太陰 great female, and 太陽 the great male, with the 少陰 small female, and 少陽 the small male principle of nature. The 四像 four forms are said to have produced the 八卦 eight diagrams, which are described by three sets of lines, having the divided and extended ones variously interspersed, so as to be all different. These 八卦 eight diagrams are described as 乾 këen, which is 天 heaven; 坤 kwăn, which is 地 earth; 坎 k'han, which is 水 water; 離 le, which is 火 fire; 艮 kăn, which is 山

dry land; 兌 t'huy, which is 澤 sea; 震 chin, which is 雷 thunder; and 巽 sun, which is 風 wind. These will be found to include the grandest objects of nature, but merely inanimate nature; nothing living appears among the list. It was found necessary, therefore, to have something 靈 vital, or efficacious, and the Chinese cosmogonists thought of the 鬼 神 Kweì Shîn, which are said to be the vital or efficacious part of the male and female principle; also the active powers of the 二氣 two energies of nature; as well as the energetic operations of heaven and earth, and the traces of production and change. Further the Kweì Shîn are described as performing their operations by a certain expanding and contracting power, which comes and goes, and in reference to which they may be called the contracters and expanders of nature. Yet it would not appear that the Kweì Shîn are the authors of being, or the sources of existence, but only the machinery which agitates or changes the face of nature. Themselves forming a part of that nature, a species of matter, (of which the expressions expanding and contracting are indicative,) but a very subtile one, a sort of extremely attenuated vapour, or the most volatile part of the breath of nature, going forth and returning in the production and transformation of inferior things. Hence the Chinese have the phrase 氣 機 之 鬼 神 the Kweì Shîns of nature's mechanism, which they own is the same with 祭 司 之 鬼神 the Kwei Shîns which are the objects of sacrifice, and 人 身 之 鬼 神 the Kweì Shîns inherent in every human being. The idea of expanding and contracting, advancing and receding, which the Chinese have attached to the Kweì Shîn, has led them to look for a Kweì Shîn in every thing. Thus they find it in the alternate changes of day and night, in the waxing and waning of the moon, in the blooming and drooping of plants and flowers, and in the increasing or decreasing vigour of the bodily frame. Indeed many things that the Chinese say of the Kweì Shîn, would lead us to imagine that they intended thereby a sort of *anima mundi*, or soul of the world. Though in using the word

soul, or spirit, in these discussions, we must protest against the terms being understood in the European sense of them, as the Chinese have no idea of soul and spirit, as we understand the words, but intend thereby a sort of highly volatilized and attenuated matter, which after all its evaporations is still essentially connected with matter, and is certainly not to be explained of pure, intelligent, immaterial, and immortal spirit.

Confucius, in the second section, goes on to say, " In endeavouring to observe (the Kweì Shîn) we cannot see them ; in attempting to listen, we cannot hear them ; and yet they embody all things, without the possibility of any exemption."

Here the Commentator remarks, " the Kweì Shîn, have no form nor sound, and yet the beginning and end of things are invariably brought about by the uniting and dispersing of the male and female principles of nature , therefore they constitute the substance of all things, and there is nothing that can exist without them. The expression " embodying things" is similar to that which the 易經 Yĭh king uses about "thoroughly pervading things."

The paraphrase on this section is to the following effect ; " How shall we know the fulness of the energies of the Kweì Shîn ? but by considering that the Kweì Shîn have no form, and that by the most intense observation we cannot perceive them ; also that they have no sound, and that by the most anxious listening we cannot discern them ; yet formless and soundless as they are, they really embody the very centre of form and sound. When things are first produced, the 氣 breath, or animal spirit, daily advances and grows ; this is the advancing and expanding of the Shîn. When things have arrived at their fulness and perfection, the 氣 breath or animal spirit, daily reverts to its original, and wandering about scatters ; this is the reverting and returning of the Kweì. For the Kweì Shîn embody all things, and there is nothing without them ; how full and perfect, therefore, are the energies of the 鬼神 Kweì Shîn !"

In a critical commentary on this passage we have the following remarks : " This section speaks of the fulness of the energies of the Kwei Shin ; the three sentences are connected together, but the whole stress of the section is laid on " the embodying of all things, without any exception." Having premised the first two sentences, the writer proceeds from the abstruse to the evident, in order to shew the perfection and fulness of the Kwei Shin. Their invisibility and inaudibility is exhibited in their embodying of things. The three sentences, refer only to one consentaneous effort, and must not be viewed as two gradations. Their embodying of things means, that they enter into the substance of things ; but not that the things first existed, and afterwards the Kwei Shin, but

that the Kwei Shins first existed, and afterwards the things ; and when it was found that the things existed, it appeared that none of them could be divested of the Kwei Shin. In fact, the Kwei Shins are in the midst of things, and as it were constitute the bones of things. The Kwei Shins are the hosts, and things the guests, (meaning perhaps that matter is superinduced upon them.) Betwixt heaven and earth there is nothing so great as the 氣 energy of nature ; that which enters into every fibre and atom is this male and female principle of nature, and that which incloses heaven and earth as in a net, is this same male and female principle of nature. When the 理 principle of order existed, then the 氣 energy of nature also existed ; and when this energy existed, then 形 forms also appeared. "The embodying of things" refers to the Kwei Shin; the words "without exception," refer to the things embodied. The words beginning and end, used by the Commentator, are not to be taken for life and death, but refer to the expirations and inspirations, the darkenings and brightenings, the changes and transformations of all things ; with the substitutions of day and night, life and death, and such like. The words Kwei and Shin are included in the words male and female principle of nature ; for the two energies of nature are originally but one energy. The male and female principles uniting constitute the beginning of things, and these principles dispersing cause their end. Sometimes they disperse and again unite, thus after their termination they again commence, which constitutes the principle of reproduction, going on spontaneously without intermission ; we must not take the energies after they are contracted, and consider them in the light of newly expanding energies : an exemplification of this may be seen in breathing. The "invisible and inaudible," spoken of in this passage, constitute the abstruse powers of nature ; the "embodying of all things without exception" constitutes their display ; thus this section includes both the abstruse and manifest ; the last section merely refers to their results."

In this section the Kwei Shin are represented as a sort of *anima mundi*, or ethereal substance, diffused through the mass of the world, invisible and inaudible to human senses, and yet thoroughly pervading and embodying all things. The Kwei Shin would appear to have existed previous to the things they embody, and yet one might be led to suppose that their existence is only discoverable from the existence of those things, so that were there no matter, there could to our apprehension be no Kwei Shin. Also from their being inherent in all things, without the exception of any, we might infer their inseparability from matter, and their partial identity with it. Their constituting the bones of things is a remarkable expression, and intimates that they form the inward strength and internal constitution of things. Their being the hosts, while things are only the guests, would imply that the Kwei Shin provide the entertainment which things come to partake of. And yet as in China, the host gives way to the guest, and yields to him the place of honour, so the Kwei Shin would seem here to yield the precedence to things, during their presence and contact. These figures, however, are not to be strained to

the utmost, and only the main idea for which they were employed is to be dwelt upon. After all, the Kwei Shin seem to be nothing in comparison of the 氣 energy of nature, still less when put in competition with the 理 fitness of things. Yet to this fitness of things they attribute no qualities, powers or personality, it is a mere principle of order, according to which things spontaneously got into their present shape and form, and is not at all to be considered in the light of the author of nature, or the Ruler of the Universe. In the passage under consideration the writer intimates that the energy of nature, the principle of order, and the forms of things existed consentaneously, so that we might thence infer the eternity of matter, or at least that the Chinese knew nothing about the existence of anything prior to the forms of things. The beginning of things being produced by the union of the male and female principle of nature, while their dispersing constitutes their end, does not refer so much to the origin and final termination of all things, as to the birth and death of men and animals, with the growth and decay of plants. The reproduction spoken of does not refer to any life after death, and so to the immortality of the soul, but to the successive generations of mankind, and the springing up of plants from former seeds.

Confucius, in the third section of this chapter, observes, "Whilst causing each man in the empire to be properly adjusted and purified within, and arrayed in suitable apparel without, in order to offer the accustomed sacrifices, (the Kwei Shin) are expandingly spread abroad, as if over the heads, and on each side (of the worshippers.)"

The commentator on this passage tells us, that to adjust means to put things even, and is the action by which we adjust that which was before uneven: pure, he says, means clean; and expandingly spreading abroad, conveys the idea of pervading and filling all things. He observes further, that (the Kwei Shin) being able to induce men to be reverential and respectful in presenting sacrifices, and thus plainly exhibiting and displaying themselves, is a proof of their embodying all things without exception. The Commentator then quotes a saying of Confucius, which he says conveys the same idea, to this effect, that the energies of the Kwei Shin being displayed above, for the purpose of bringing to light the exhilirated or mournful feelings of the worshippers, is an instance of the various things (which are the objects of worship) possesing something ethereal, and of the manifestation of the Shin, (when sacrificed to.)

The paraphrast on this passage says, Should any ask how we can shew that the Kwei Shin embody all things without exception? We would try to prove it by a circumstance of easy comprehension. At the period of sacrificing, 鬼神之靈 the efficaciousness of the Kwei Shin is able to cause each man in the empire, whilst offering such sacrifices as are suitable to his station, to be adjusted and purified, in order to promote veneration within, and to be properly apparelled, in

order to shew respect without, and thus come and offer his sacrifices; at such time you may see the subtile excellence of the Kwei Shin displayed and manifested, expandingly pervading and filling all around, as if they were over the heads and on each side of the worshippers. In this we may see a proof of the Kwei Shin's being present wherever we may go, and embodying all things without exception.

The critical commentator on this passage says, the expression "embodying all things" in the former section, is very broad and comprehensive. All the productions and changes of heaven and earth, such as the flourishing and decaying of the blood and spirits of human life, the blooming and withering of plants and trees, with the living and dying of all kinds of things, are invariably to be ascribed to the Kwei Shin. In the present section, the writer goes on from the idea of embodying all things, and proceeds to that of sacrificing; for he was afraid lest people should take 氣機之鬼神 the Kwei Shin of the mechanism of nature, to be distinct from 祭享之鬼神 the Kwei Shin who enjoy sacrifices; he therefore speaks of their extreme nearness and evident display, wishing men to understand that these two kinds of Kwei Shin are in fact one. In the word 使 "causing," used in the text, we see their 靈 efficaciousness. The "sacrificing" spoken of, not only alludes to the sacrifices offered to the manes of departed persons, but to all sacrifices, whether offered to heaven and earth, to the hills and rivers, or to the five points, according to that which it is suitable for each person to sacrifice to; only we must be sincere and respectful, in order to collect our 精神 animal spirits, and then the animal spirits of the Kwei Shin will also be collected, expansively pervading, and completely filling the surrounding space, as if the Shin were actually present. The expression "over head, and on each side," merely conveys the idea of filling up the surrounding space, and not that of unsettledness, (or indefiniteness as to any given point.) Ancestors and descendants have one and the same 氣 breath, or animal spirit; and although our ancestors may be dead, yet as long as we are alive, the Shin, of our ancestors is certainly in existence. Therefore when we carry to the utmost our sincerity and respect, we may certainly influence them. When we sacrifice to the 外神 outside Shins, (that is to the Shins of others, not our ancestors,) and cause them to enjoy our offerings, it is also ascribed to the same principle. When the Shins are such as our stations require us to sacrifice to, then our minds are nearly allied to them; when our minds conceive this mutual affiance, then the Shins approach us. The "extensive pervading (of the Kwei Shin) as if present," is brought about by the sincerity of men's own minds; but that which causes men (to be thus sincere) and brings about this "extensive pervading as if present" is the action of the Kwei Shins themselves. Their causing men to be thus sincere, shews that they "embody all things;" and men's minds of themselves being thus affected, is a proof that no single thing can divest itself of the Kwei Shin. Therefore 吾身之鬼神 the Kwei Shins of my own per-

son, are 祭祀之鬼神 the Kwei Shins that are the object of sacrifice, and the Kwei Shins that are the object of sacrifice are 氣機之鬼神 the Kwei Shins of the mechanism of nature. Choo-foo-tszè has said, That this one section being inserted in the middle of this chapter, conveys the same idea with that of the "hawk flying and the fish leaping" in the account of the Happy Medium. (That is, every thing its place, and according to its nature, so as to avoid force and constraint, and to effect spontaneous action.) When the efficaciousness of the Kwei Shin is bright and illumined, this is being "brilliantly displayed." When their 氣 energies ascend upward and influence men, this is the "fragrant or exhilirated feeling;" and when they cause men's animal spirits to be frigid and stiff, this is "the mournful feeling." At death, the contracting principle prevails, but when spirits are influenced by sacrifices and induced to come, this is the expanding principle, hence it is said that the Shins are manifested.

To understand the above section, it is necessary to advert to the ideas of the Chinese regarding sacrifices. They imagine that every man has his peculiar object of sacrifice. The emperor only should sacrifice to the heavens and earth, the princes of the empire to the hills and rivers, officers of government to the lares of the land and grain, while private persons may sacrifice to the manes of their ancestors and deceased parents. When such etiquette is observed, the sacrifices are said to be suitable to the station of the individuals, and then only can the Kwei Shin be supposed to be present, with their expanding influence. Another requisite to such presence is, the proper feeling and pure intentions, together with the suitable apparel, of the worshippers. These conditions being granted, the Kwei Shin are then imagined to be present, filling the surrounding space and overshadowing the sacrificers. There are, however, two gratuitous suppositions in all this scheme, which wanting proof, and being destitute of evidence, the whole theory breaks down. First, the imagination that the Kweì Shîn cause the worshippers to act thus suitably in their devotions; and secondly, that the Kweì Shîn are actually present when such suitable sacrifices are offered. The Chinese seem so certain of these two, that they wait for no evidence of the facts, and even adduce these as proofs of the existence and of the pervading influence of the Kweì

Shîn. We have not, however, to do now with the justness of their ideas, but only with their nature. And it would appear, from the above remarks, that they imagine the Kweì Shîn to have much to do in inducing certain dispositions, and thus exert an influence over men's minds; while they testify their approbation of such dispositions by being present at the sacrifice, and thus are supposed to possess a power to reward the good and punish the evil; in all this the Chinese seem to hold that the Kweì Shîn are a sort of spiritual beings, and such spiritual beings as might claim the veneration of mankind; and yet they hold that the Kweì Shîn of sacrifices are identical with the Kweì Shîn of the mechanism of nature, which we have found to be a sort of ethereal substance embodying all things, and something similar to the anima mundi of western philosophers.

Confucius, in the fourth section of this chapter, quotes a passage from the 詩經 Book of Odes, which says: "The approaches of the Shîn cannot be ascertained, how th-n can we tolerate negligence?" The whole passage runs thus: "When I observe your associations with your virtuous friends, I perceive that your countenance is placid and agreeable, (as if you were saying) how can I avoid falling into mistakes? but let us look at your private abode, and see whether you can peradventure avoid cause for blushing in your secret dwelling; do not say that the things there enacted are not public, and that no one sees you; for the approaches of the Shîn are not to be conjectured; how then can you suffer yourself to indulge indifference?"

The Commentator on this passage merely explains the terms. The paraphrase runs thus: "The fact of the Kweì Shîn embodying all things, not only happens at the time of sacr ficing, but in the daily occurrences of life it is the same; for the Ode says, When the Shîn come down, their movements are not to be conceived of; so that in our own private dwellings, were we ever so sincere and respectful, we might still fear having cause to blush (before the Shîn); how then can we be careless and disrespectful? Looking therefore at the words of this ode, we may know more perfectly that the Kweì Shîn embody all things without exception."

The critical commentary on the above passage says, that the coming above spoken of is an expanding effort; hence the writer

does not speak of the Kweì, or contracting, but only of the Shîn, or expanding principle. The Shîns here spoken of, are also the kind of Kweì Shîns to whom sacrifices are offered; but the ode merely refers to the time of our dwelling in our private habitations, and does not refer to the season of sacrificing; for although the former section was sufficient to prove that the Kweì Shîns embodied all things without exception, yet fearing lest people should merely advert to the Kweì Shîns at the period of sacrificing, and neglect them on common occasions, he refers to the Kweì Shîn being every where present, even in our private dwellings; thus the idea of their embodying all things without exception, would be still more evident. This section refers mainly to the idea of the second section, regarding embodying all things; and is not to be confined to the elucidation of the third section concerning sacrificing.

In this passage the Shîn are spoken of without the Kweì, but lest we should imagine that they are to be veiwed as distinct from the Kweì, the Commentator tells us, that the Shîn only are mentioned here, because of the act of their 格 coming, which is an effort of the 伸 expanding principle, and he further informs us that the Shîn here spoken of are the Kweì Shîn present at the time of sacrificing, only we must conceive of them sometimes as present on common occasions. An apparent inconsistency is observable in the Chinese theory at this point; for if the Kweì Shîn 體物不遺 embody all things without exception, and are 無往不在 present wherever we go, how can they be said to 格 approach, and to be so inscrutable in their approaches as not to be 測 fathomed? But here again we must recur to the Chinese notion of the Kweì Shîn, expanding and contracting, approaching and receding, like the heaving of the breath, or the interchange of light and darkness. Is not this another proof that in the most spiritual exercises of the Kweì Shîn, where they are thought to approach and take cognizance of human actions, they are essentially connected with matter, and act as if they were the mere pantings of nature, and not pure spiritual essences?

In the last section of this chapter Confucius says, "Thus it is that, in the manifestation of their abstruseness, (the Kweì Shîns) whilst displaying their sincerity, are not to be concealed."

The Commentator says, That sincerity here means, that which is true and free from all deception. The collectings and scatterings of the male and female principle of nature (to produce life and death) are invariably sincere, (or in exact accordance with the strict rule of right,) therefore their manifestations are thus unconcealable.

The paraphrase on this section is as follows; The invisible and inaudible property of the Kweì Shîns may be called their abstruseness, whilst their embodying all things without exception is their manifestation. But how can they be abstruse and at the same time manifest? In this way. In every single instance of the uniting of elements, to constitute living things, there is the principle of expansion present (or the Shîn); and in every single instance of the separation of particles, to bring about their dissolution, there is the principle of contraction present (or the Kweì); both these are produced by the principle of truth and uncorruptedness decreed by Heaven. This is the way in which (the Kweì Shîn) are thus abstruse and yet manifest, without any possibility of concealment. From this we may see how full and perfect are 德 the energies of the Kweì Shîn.

The critical commentary on this passage runs thus, "the three first sections of this chapter all treat of the unconcealable manifestation of the abstruse principle; in this section alone we have pointed out, its sincerity. 微 The abstruse is 隱 the hidden, referring to what is above said about the invisible and the inaudible. 顯 The manifest is 費 the widely-displayed, referring to what is above said of embodying all things; these two, however, are not to be divided into separate times and circumstances; it does not mean that the Kweì Shîn proceed from the abstruse to the manifest, but it conveys the idea of their possessing both at the same time, without any gradation being distinguishable. 誠 The sincerity spoken of in the text refers to the 理 principle of order, which rules in the midst of the 氣 energy of nature. Hence Hoo-she has said, that the Kweì Shîn are the uniting and scattering energies of the male and female principle of nature; whilst 誠 sincerity is the 理 principle of order according to which such uniting and scattering of the male and female principles of nature are regulated. Between heaven and earth there certainly is this 理 principle of order, and so also there certaintly exist these 氣 energies; thus the contractings (of the Kweì) are real contractings, and the expandings (of the Shîn) are real expandings, but they all act according to this perfectly sincere and unadulterated principle of order, then of course they are brightly displayed, and cannot be concealed; hence it is said, that when there is 誠 sincerity, there will follow 形 the existence of form. In its being unconcealable, we see that the abstruse is necessarily accompanied by that which is manifest; thus the abstruse and manifest are inseparably united in one, and not merely tacked together, from which we may infer their unconcealable character. This section speaks of the virtue of the Kweì Shîn being so complete,

mainly on account of their 誠 sincerity. It does not mean, that independent of the Kweì Shîn there is a separate being called 誠 Sincerity. In this work, the Happy Medium, this is the first time that the word sincerity appears; from henceforth the word occupies a prominent place in the volume. But this Sincerity is the result of 費 wide-spread greatness; speaking of it according to the 理 principle of order, the word sincerity occuring in subsequent chapters seems to pervade all principles and possess them in itself Speaking of sincerity in connection with 德 virtue, this word forms the pivot and hinge of the whole work, but the writer has managed to bring it up when speaking of the Kweì Shîn, that he might pass on from the root of productions and transformations, to the sincerity of the human heart, in which we perceive that the writer's idea is perfect and complete. Formerly he was led, from the observation of the hawk and the fishes to speak of 道 right principles' which was to exhibit those principles from 物之形 the forms of things; now he is led from the consideration of the Kweì Shîn to speak of right principles, which is to illustrate those principles from 物之氣 the energies of things. The invisible and inaudible constitute 隱 the hidden, the embodying of all things constitutes the 費 expansive, therefore the Kweì Shîn are said to unite the expansive and the hidden. The embodying of all things constitutes the greatness of the Kweì Shîn; after having spoken of this, the writer merely refers to the presence of the Kweì Shîn at sacrifices and in private dwellings, which is but the littleness of the Kweì Shîn; hence this section is said to include the small and great; thus in the midst of the expansive and hidden, he includes the small and the great. To quote two things and speak of them together, is called uniting; to take this and add it to that, is called including.

In order to understand the above remarks of the sage, we must consider, that by the abstruse therein mentioned, is meant the hidden quality of the Kweì Shîn, consisting in their being invisible and inaudible to human senses; and by the manifest, is meant the displays of their energy in embodying all things, and causing them to expand or contract, to grow or decay, as well as in their embodying of all moving things, causing them to advance or recede, to change or revolve. The word sincerity in the text is not to be applied, as might at first appear, to the sincere feeling of the worshippers, but to the sincere action of the Kweì Shîn, who are supposed to do every thing exactly according to the rule of right, and to be real and unpretending in their

operations. To the readers of the Happy Medium, the word 誠 sincere, and 至誠 perfectly sincere will be found to have a peculiar meaning; it conveys something of the idea of 聖 perfect intelligence and virtue, such as that which the sages possess and exhibit. The commentator tells us, that the energies of the Kweì Shîn being so complete, is mainly on account of their 誠 sincerity; which is an inherent quality of these beings, and not a separate existence. Here then we have a moral quality applied to the Kweì Shîn. Let us endeavour to combine this with the original idea attached by them to the Kweì Shîn, and in so doing we shall find that they are the contracting and expanding energies of nature, embodying all things and yet invisible; influencing men to offer sacrifices aright, and then being present at such offerings; coming down also in an inscrutable manner to observe human actions; and then manifesting their abstruseness, in a sincere and intelligent manner, so as to baffle concealment. In all this, we see a gradual advancement from the material to the spiritual, from the operative to the presiding, from the confined to the pervading, from the gross to the intelligent, until they become objects of worship and reverence; yet we must remember that according to their system, they are based in matter, and essentially connected with it; that they are dual in their arrangement, and plural in their nature, and themselves subject to a controlling power, such as 天命 the decree of heaven, and 理 the fitness of things. The utmost we can assign to them, therefore, is the *anima mundi*, or soul of the universe, divided into an indefinite number of demons, or spirits, to whom is assigned the agitating and reviving of material things.

In the 24th chapter of the 中庸 Happy Medium, we have a casual reference to the 神 Shîn, which may tend to throw some light on the subject. The writer says, "The principles of the 至誠 perfectly sincere enable them to foretell future events; when a country is about to prosper, there will be propitious omens, and

telligence, he is able to prognosticate future events, and in this he resembles the Shîn. The way in which the sages predicted future events was by attending to prognostics; and the Kweì Shîn discovered their knowledge of the springs of the action by acting according to the principles of truth, or by awarding happiness or misery to mankind in an upright and proper manner. The Kweì Shîn are said to act according to the fitness of things, in their expanding and contracting, advancing and receding; and by thus following out the principles of truth, they produce phenomena, which shew their ability to anticipate future contingencies. In all this the Chinese imagine that they can trace a resemblance between the sages and the Kweì Shîn, but if the intelligence of the sages resemble that of the Kweì Shîn, the intelligence of the Kweì Shîn must resemble that of the sages; and if the sages can foretell future events, not by any innate sagacity, but by observing prognostics, and drawing inferences from the same, so also the Kweì Shîn must be able to ascertain the contingencies of futurity only in some such manner. This passage, therefore, does not ascribe divine intelligence to the Kweì Shîn, but only such as the sages possess and employ.

In the 29th chapter of the Happy Medium, we have another reference to the Kweì Shîn. The passage runs thus:

"1. He who rules over the empire has three weighty matters to arrange, which done, perhaps he may reduce the number of errors, (committed under him.)"

On this the Commentator says, that "the three weighty matters" are ceremonies, regulations, and literary examinations. When no one but the Emperor interferes in managing these, then the different states will be uniformly governed, families will be saved from heterogeneous customs, and individuals will have fewer errors."

2. "Although those of high antiquity might have been good, yet they have left no sufficient records to prove it; their goodness not having been substantiated has failed to induce credence; and not having possessed public confidence, the people have not complied

with them. In like manner, although those of a more recent period may be good, yet they are not honoured (by being invested with regal dignity); not being thus honoured, they fail to secure public confidence, and not having such confidence, they are not followed."

Here the commentator remarks, that "those of high antiquity, refer to the monarchs who flourished before that time, such as those who instituted the ceremonies of the Hea and Shang dynasties, who, although good, had not left sufficient records to enable men to substantiate their goodness. Those of a more recent period, refer to the sages, who occupied inferior stations, such as Confucius, who, although he instituted excellent ceremonies, was not exalted to a station of dignity."

3. "Therefore the institutions of the superior man should originate with himself, and should be sufficiently substantiated among the people; when compared with those of the three ancient kings, they should be found unerring; when established before heaven and earth, they should not appear inconsistent with right reason; when confronted for examination before the Kweì Shîn, there should be no doubt about them; and to the distance of a hundred ages, waiting for another sage to arise, there should be no misgivings respecting them."

The commentator tells us, that "the superior man" here spoken of refers to him who rules over the empire; and the institutions mentioned, refer to the ceremonies, regulations, and literary examinations appointed by him. Originating with himself, means, that he himself should possess the requisite virtue to institute them. To substantiate them among the people, means, that they should be so proved as to induce belief and compliance. "Established," means set up, as it were set up here to be examined there. Heaven and earth is here put for 道 the principle of right reason. The Kweì Shîn here refer to the traces of formation and change, (or to those expanding and contracting powers of nature which bring about production and decay.) After the distance of a hundred ages, waiting for another sage to arise, and yet to have no misgivings, is the same as to say, that if another sage should arise he would not alter my words.

The paraphrase on this passage, says, that if those who possess virtue (like the sages), without hitting upon the right time, and without obtaining the proper rank, are still unable to reduce the number of people's errors, how much less can those, who merely happen to light upon the opportunity, and get into stations of trust and dignity, without possessing the requisite virtue, effect this! Therefore the superior man who presides over the empire, in carrying out these three important institutions, having first paid honour to virtuous nature,

and encouraged literary efforts, then being enabled tó illustrate the nature of heaven earth and all things, while he complies with the laws of ceremony and music, business and affairs, inheriting every one of these in himself, may be said to possess the requisite virtue. Moreover when he hits on the proper season, and obtains the requisite dignity, and demonstrates this to the people of the empire, then he will be confided in, and then he will be followed; in this way perhaps he may substantiate the goodness of his acts. Still he does not dare to boast of himself, and will take that which he does and compare it with the acts of the three ancient kings, until he finds that amongst the things which he has followed or altered, diminished or increased, there is not the slightest departure from former practices. He also takes the things which he has instituted, and submits them to the scrutiny of heaven and earth, and finds that amongst the things which he has curtailed or completed, aided or assisted, there is nothing that contradicts the self-existent principle of right. Moreover, the Kweì Shîn are without form, and are with difficulty understood; he therefore takes his own actions, and brings them in contact with the abstruse and mysterious; in this way he confronts them for examination with the Kweì Shîn, whose contractings and expandings, changes and transformations, are nothing more than this principle of right; thus the invisible world substantiates the visible, and the superior man is free from doubt. Future sages have not yet arisen, and it is difficult to know what they will be: he therefore secures that his conduct be such that nothing can be added to it; and then should he look for some future sage, his actions and usages would be nothing more than what this principle of right inculcates; thus he takes the distant to substantiate the near, and is without misgivings. In this way it is that the three institutions of the superior man have some certain origin, and are substantiated by proper proofs.

In a more extended commentary on the subject, the writer says, The inscrutabilities of the Kweì Shîn refer to the mutual dependence of their filling and emptying, their dispersing and growing, with the inexhaustible character of their contracting and expanding, their advancing and receding.

4. "Confronting his actions for examination with the Kweì Shîn, and having no hesitancy, shows that the superior man understands Heaven; to be bold to wait for a hundred ages, until some future sage arise, without feeling any misgiving, shows that he understands men."

The Commentator remarks on this, that to know heaven and to know men, means, that he knows the principles which regulate them.

The paraphrase runs thus: "The regulations of the superior man, are invariably consistent with reason, and not accidentally right. His being able to confront his actions with the hidden nature of the Kweì Shîn, and to feel no hesitancy in so doing, is because he knows the principles which actuate Heaven. For the principles by which Heaven is actuated, are carried to the utmost in the case of the Kweì

Shîn ; and the superior man, investigating thoroughly their 神 expandings, and understanding their 化 transformations, fully knows the principles by which Heaven's ways are governed ; therefore his regulations are all in accordance with Heaven, so that he can confront them for examination without hesitation. Speaking only of the Kweì Shîn, in this passage, we may know that heaven and earth are included. Future sages are removed to a great distance, and the superior man is enabled to wait for their judgement without misgiving, because he knows the principles by which men are actuated. For the principles which guide men are carried to the utmost in the case of the sages ; while the superior man, clearly understanding men and things, and examining the human relations by the principles which uniformly actuate mankind, perfectly knows them all. Therefore his regulations are invariably in accordance with human feelings, so that he can wait for future sages without misgiving. When the writer speaks of future sages, the three ancient kings are of course included. This is what is called the extreme of goodness displayed in the regulations of the superior man.

It is not necessary to proceed further with this chapter, as our object is merely to illustrate the Chinese ideas of the Kweì Shîn : which are casually referred to in it. The confronting of one's actions before the Kweì Shîn for examination, intimates that the writer considered the Kweì Shîn to be present, and to be capable of approving or condemning them ; in the same way as in the quotation from the Book of Odes made formerly, where the Shîn are supposed to approach us in an inscrutable manner, so that we must act with caution, in order to avoid being filled with shame in their presence. The Kweì Shîn, however, are mentioned separately from 天地 heaven and earth, which latter is said to be 道 the self-existent principle of right, and therefore, in the Chinese estimation, far superior to the Kweì Shîn, who are only the traces of production and renovation, or whose traces are seen in the formations and changes which take place in nature. The Kweì Shîn are said to be without form, and hard to be understood, both abstruse and mysterious ; and yet their material expandings and contractings, changes and transformations, are represented as merely in conformity with 理 the fitness of things, which they cannot go beyond. In the fourth section the writer says, "Confronting his actions for examination before the Kweì Shîn,

without hesitancy, shows that the superior man understands Heaven ;" from which some might infer that the Kweì Shîn are synonimous with Heaven ; but the commentator tells us, that the Kweì Shîn, in the above passage, includes the 天 地 heaven and earth, mentioned immediately before them, in the third section ; as the "future sages," also include the 三 王 three ancient kings, mentioned in the same section ; so that the superior man being without doubts and misgivings before them may be said to know heaven and men. The words heaven and earth, as well as the three ancient kings, are omitted in the passage under consideration for the sake of brevity, and therefore the word 天 Heav n is no more synonimous with the Kweì Shîn, than the word 人 men mentioned in the antithetical sentence is synonimous with the sages. The expression that 天之理 the principles which actuate Heaven are carried to the utmost by the Kweì Shîn, is similar to the phrase, 人之理 the principles by which men are actuated are carried to the utmost by the sages ; and from the latter we may understand the former ; which gives us the idea that as the sages carry out fully the principle of right in man, so the Kweì Shîn carry out fully the principle of right in heaven and earth. From the whole we may understand that the Kweì Shîn are subordinate to heaven and earth, as well as to the 道 rule of right, and the 理 fitness of things, which latter are spoken of as self-existing.

In the 論語 Lún yù, Discourses and Conversations, 2d book, and 5th page, we have the following passage :

1. "He sacrificed (to his ancestors) as if they were present, he sacrificed to the Shîns, as if the Shîns were present."

The commentator on this passage tells us, that where the word sacrifice alone is employed, it is to be understood of sacrificing to the manes of ancestors ; and that the Shîns above spoken of mean the outside Shîns, (or those not related to the worshipper.) In sacrificing to one's ancestors the most important feeling is filial p ety, and in sacrificing to the Shîns, the most important thing is respect. The commentator suggests also, that in this passage the disciples of Con-

fucius intended to record the sincere feeling of the sage at the time of sacrificing.

In the paraphrase the writer remarks, The disciples of the sage here make a minute, saying, The most important thing in sacrificing is sincere feeling. When the sage sacrificed to his progenitors, then his filial feelings were pure and earnest: and although his ancestors were removed to a distance, he felt as if their sound and form were present on the seat appointed for them. When he sacrificed to the outside Shîns, (or those not related to him,) his respectful feelings were bent towards one point, and although there was no connexion of form and sound, he felt as though these outside Shîns were over his head; so intense was his sincerity.

The critical commentary on this passage states, that when ancestors are mentioned, deceased parents are of course included. The outside Shîns he says, are the Shîns that preside over hills and forests, rivers and vallies, which are able to get up clouds and bring down rain: these were sacrificed to when the sage was in office. When the outside Shîns are mentioned, then 五祀 the presiding genii of the five parts of the house, sacrificed to on different occasions, are included. Filial piety conveys the idea of sympathy and love, respect that of veneration and awe. Separately considered the one is filial piety, and the other respect; viewed in connexion, it is but one feeling of sincerity, which reigning in filial piety, the filial piety is extremely sincere; and reigning in respect, the respect is unquestionably true. My own 精神 animal spirits are the animal spirits of my progenitors; when on my part, I carry to the utmost my sincerity and respect, then 氣 the breath or energy of my ancestors is here present; just the same as a root again sending forth shoots, or like a dry tree putting forth new roots on the side of the rotten stump, thus connecting the real breath or energy down to the present time. Although the outside Shîns are not one breath or energy with myself, yet since it is suitable for me to sacrifice to them, then there exists the principle of inter-communication, and if I carry to the utmost my respect and sincerity, their 氣 breath or energy will also be influenced and induced to come. But if the Shîns are such as we ought not to sacrifice to, then as this 理 principle does not exist, the 氣 breath or energy cannot be present.

Confucius said, "When I do not attend at the sacrifice, it is to me as if there were no sacrifice."

Here, the commentator says, the disciples record the words of Confucius, in order to illustrate the above sentence. At the proper time for sacrificing perhaps something might have happened, (sickness or such like,) to prevent his attendance, and he commissioned some one else to act for him; on such occasions he could not carry out the feeling of sincerity as if present: and although the sacrifice was performed, this feeling was defective, and he felt as if the sacrifice had not been performed. Fan-she says, That when the good man sacrifices, he guards against indulgence for seven days, and fasts for three; in

this we may see that the sacrificer carries his sincere feeling to the utmost; thus when the sacrifice to heaven is offered, the 天神 celestial Shîns come down; and when the offerings to ancestors are presented, the 人鬼 human Kwels enjoy them; but it all depends upon ourselves in order to produce this effect. If we exercise suitable sincerity, then the proper Shîns will be present, but without the due exercise of feeling on our parts, the expected Shîns will not be there; can we therefore dispense with caution? In the expression, "when I am not present at a sacrifice, it is to me as if there were no sacrifice," we see, that sincerity was the real thing, and the service a mere empty ceremony.

In this passage, the Shîns referred to are merely the presiding genii of hills and rivers, who are supposed to control the wind and rain, to whom it was usual for a man to offer sacrifice when he held office. These are called the outside Shîns, because they have no connection with a man's self, except an official one, and therefore are not so much regarded as the manes of departed ancestors. In the one case 孝 filial piety, which consisted in sympathy and love, was the main feeling to be encouraged; and in the other 敬 respect, which consisted in veneration and awe, was to be principally present in the mind of the worshipper; but as filial piety and love contemplated a nearer relation, and sympathy of the worshipper with the object of worship, than mere respect or awe, so we may see how it is that the Chinese esteemed the manes of ancestors much more than the genii of hills and rivers. This is again evident from the idea subsequently put forth, that our breath or animal spirits is part and parcel of that which our ancestors possessed, (in the same way as Levi was in the loins of Abraham when Melchisedec met him,) so that when we sacrifice with due respect to their manes, we induce them to come and be present, while we can feel a sympathy with them, as if we actually brought them down to the present time. In the case of the outside Shîns, there is no oneness of breath or energy, and the same sympathy cannot be felt, yet because it is my duty, in virtue of my office, to sacrifice to them, if I manifest a due degree of sincerity on the occasion, there is a sort of connection es-

tablished, and they will also be induced to come. Thus the sage sacrificed to them as if present, though evidently with a different feeling from that which he experienced when making offerings to his ancestors.

Although the word 神 Shîn only is found in the passage above quoted, yet the 鬼 Kweì is included, for the manes of ancestors to which the first member of the sentence refers are in fact the Kweì, while the outside Shîns, mentioned afterwards, are the Shîn.

In the commentary on the second section, the writer says, "that when the 郊 sacrifices to heaven are offered, the 天神 celestial Shîns descend, and when 廟 the offerings to ancestors are presented, the 人鬼 human Kweìs enjoy them." In which passage we have the Kweì Shîn again exhibited in connection with each other, only the Shîn here spoken of are not so much the genii of hills and rivers, as the expanders of nature more immediately employed by heaven. Hence as heaven is not supposed to come down to earth, when the sacrifices to heaven are offered, the celestial Shîns descend; so also when the manes of ancestors are sacrificed to, their Kweìs, or their previously contracted energies, approach and enjoy the feast.

In the third book of 論語 Discourses and Conversations, on the 17th page, we have the following passage:

"Fan-che enquired about wisdom? Confucius said, Attend mainly to the righteous acts due towards the people; respect the Kweì Shîns, and keep them at a distance; this may be considered wisdom. He further asked regarding benevolence? To which the sage replied, Benevolence consists in paying chief attention to what is difficult, and afterwards regarding that which may be acquired thereby; this may be considered benevolence."

The commentator on this passage says, That the word "people," is to be understood of men in general. "Acquire" means to obtain. To exert one's main strength in doing that which is suitable in our intercourse with mankind, and not to be deluded by trying to find out the inscrutabilities of the Kwei Shîn, is the business of the wise.

First to attend to what is difficult in business, and afterwards to regard what is to be obtained as the result of such efforts, this is the feeling of the benevolent man. This announcement to Fan-che must have been on account of some known fault into which he had fallen. Ching-tsze says, that for people to put too much confidence in the Kweì Shîns is a delusion; and yet if you do not believe them altogether, you cannot respect them: but he who can respect them, and yet keep them at a distance, may be considered wise. He also says, To attend first to the most difficult thing, means to repress one's evil desires. To put that first which is most difficult, and yet not to speculate upon what you may get by so doing, is benevolence. Leu-she says, You should attend to that which is most urgent, and not seek after that which is hard to be understood; you should strenuously practise that which you know, and not dread difficulties in that which is hard to perform.

The paraphrase on the above passage says, That Fan-che enquired regarding wisdom, when Confucius said, Wisdom consists in the clear discernment of right principles; if you can sincerely exert your strength in doing that which is right towards others, and strenuously practise whatever the relations in which you stand, or the stations which you fill, require you to perform; while you respect the Kweì Shîns, and keep them at a distance, neither flattering nor annoying them by your solicitations for happiness; if you can manage your business in this intelligent manner, will you not be considered wise? Fan-che further enquired regarding benevolence? to which the sage replied, Benevolence consists in the pure maintenance of good feeling: if you only attend in the first instance to that which is difficult in business; vigorously giving precedence to whatever is most important in the cultivation of the mind, or has reference to the perfection of your nature, while you wait for the results to follow of themselves, not setting your heart upon them as if you certainly expected them, when you maintain right feeling in this pure and unaffected manner, will you not be considered benevolent?

In the above passage, Confucius places the duties of cultivating the human relations and every day virtues in the first place, while he regards questions about the Kweì Shîns as of inferior moment. He would have the latter indeed treated with respect, but no more attention paid to them than what custom would render necessary. In all this, we perceive the very inferior notions entertained by the Chinese of the Kweì Shîn, and the comparatively small estimation in which they are held.

In the 4th Book of Discourses and Conversations, and the 10th page, we have the following passage. Confucius was seriously indisposed, when Tszè-loò (one of his disciples) asked if he should offer up

prayers for him. Confucius said, Is there any such thing? to which Tszè-loò replied, There is: an old epitaph says, we have prayed to the 神 Shîns above, and to the 祇 K'es below! Confucius rejoined, I have long been in the habit of praying.

The Commentator on this passage says, To pray, means, to pray to the Kwei Shîn. Confucius, in enquiring, whether there was any such thing? meant to ask, whether there was any reason for it. An epitaph is made for the purpose of lamenting the dead, and detailing his actions; above and below, mean, heaven and earth. Those which belong to heaven are called the Shîn, and those which belong to earth are called the K'he. To pray, means, to repent of errors and to pass over to goodness, in order to solicit the protection of the Shîn. If there were no reason for such a practice, then there would be no necessity for performing it; Tszè-loó said there was: but we should think that the sage had been guilty of no fault, and had no further goodness to which he could advance; his former practices were certainly in accordance with 神明 intelligent and invisible beings, therefore he said, I have long been in the habit of praying. Moreover, according to the Book of Ceremonies customary at the demise of learned men, it was usual, as soon as they were sick, to offer prayers to the genii that presided over the five parts of the house: for the attendants were at that time in great extremity, and their feelings would not let them rest, so they were in the habit of praying without informing the patient, therefore Confucius did not directly oppose Tszè-loó's wish, but merely told him that there was no necessity for prayer.

The paraphrase on this passage is to the following effect: When Confucius was very much indisposed, and indeed dangerously ill, Tszè-loó asked his master, whether he wished him to offer up prayers to the Kwei Shîn, in order to solicit their favour and happiness. Confucius, wishing him to enquire accurately into the reason of the ceremony, asked, whether according to the principles of reason there was any need of such a thing? Tszè-loò, without understanding his meaning, replied that there was; quoting in proof the words of an ancient epitaph, which said, we have prayed to the 天神 celestial Shîns above, and to the 地祇 terrestrial K'hes below. Confucius said, Should there be any reason for such a practice, it is only when the worshippers repent of their faults aud remove to the way of goodness, in order to seek the protection of the Shîn; but in my every-day practice I have always treated the Kweì Shîn with respect, fearing lest I should inadvertently offend them; thus I have been in the habit of praying to them for a long time, and not only now when I am sick. Take this, and think over it.

In this, as well as in the former quotation, we perceive the irreligious spirit of the philosopher, not only keeping him at the utmost distance from invisible be-

ings through life, but even on the borders of the grave preventing his seeing the necessity of prayer. With this irreligious disposition, common to most philosophers, however, we have not now to do, but our business is to ascertain what is the meaning of the passage before us. It seems it was usual, when great men were seriously indisposed, for their attendants to pray to the Kweì Shîn. One of the disciples of Confucius wanted to comply with this custom, but the sage himself could not see the necessity of it; thinking that a good life was the best prayer, and that so long as a man did his duty in his station, the less he had to do with invisible beings the better. The disciple not understanding his master's idea, quoted an ancient epitaph, showing that it was usual to pray to the 神 Shîns above, and to the 祇 Ke's below. As this is the first passage of the Four Books in which we have met with the 祇 K'he, it will be well to consider what they mean. Kang-he says, that the 祇 K'he are the 地 神 terrestrial Shîns, and observes that the 地祇 terrestrial K'hes 提出萬物者也 are those that bring up all things, as the 天神 celestial Shîns 引出萬物者也 lead out all things. They are then the same, or nearly the same beings, only the one have especial reference to heaven, and the other to earth; the one are said to be above, and the other below; the one lead out, while the other bring up all things. The 祇 K'hes are therefore a portion of the expanding powers of nature, mainly spoken of with reference to earth; and they, as well as the 神 Shîn, are distinct from the 鬼 Kweì, which are the contracting powers of nature. They were objects of devotion, because many of the Chinese thought they could by prayer obtain blessings from them, but Confucius discouraged such devotional acts as unnecessary. In the commentary on this passage, we meet for the first time with the expression 神 明 Shîn mîng, which is not to be taken here for a mere attribute, as Kang-he explains it, but for spiritual intelligences, or invisible and intelligent beings, with whom the conduct

of the sage was in perfect accordance, so that having never offended them, it was not necessary for him to pray to them for their forgiveness. In the present day this phrase is used for idols so distinctively, that it would be injudicious to employ it for expressing the Deity.

In the same book, and at the 17th page, we have the following:

Confucius said, In Yù I can find no flaw; he was sparing in his common diet, but extremely filial in his conduct towards the Kweì Shîn; he wore vile clothing, but he was truly elegant in his apron and crown (used on sacrificial occasions); he dwelt in a mean abode, but he exerted his strength upon the ditches and water-courses; in Yù I can find no blemish.

The commentator says, that the word flaw, means a crack; and the idea of the sage is, that in pointing to his cracks, he had no remark to make. Sparing means thin; his being extremely filial in his conduct towards the Kweì Shîn, means that he offered plenteous and pure sacrifices. His clothing, referred to his every-day clothing. The apron was a covering for the knees, and was made of leather; the crown was a mitre he wore, and both were employed on sacrificial occasions. The ditches and water-courses, were channels for water between the fields, for the purpose of fixing their boundaries, and for providing against drought and inundation. Whether he was liberal or sparing, in every case he did that which was suitable, therefore he had no flaw, that could be remarked upon. Hence the sage repeated his observation, in order to express his deeper admiration. Yâng-she says, He was sparing in what he bestowed upon himself, and when he exerted diligence it was in the business of the people; when he displayed liberality, it was in the ceremonies of the temple and court, thus he might be said to possess the empire, without seeming to possess it; what blemish then could be found in him?

The paraphrase runs thus: Confucius said, When I examine into the sovereigns of antiquity, such as Yù, of the Hëá dynasty, I cannot point out any blemish, that I could remark upon. For instance when he provided himself with meat and drink, he was frugal and sparing; but in sacrificing to the Kweı Shîns of the ancestorial temple, he was most abundant and pure in his selection of victims and meat-offerings, to show his filial piety and induce them to accept his offering. On common occasions he aimed at coarseness and vileness in his apparel, but with regard to the apron and mitre used on sacrificial occasions, he exerted his utmost efforts to provide things of the most elegant kind without the slightest niggardliness. In the abode in which he dwelt, he put up with a small and low edifice, but with respect to the ditches and water-courses among the people, he carried to the utmost the labour of arranging and managing, with the view of fixing the

proper boundaries, and guarding against droughts and inundations. When it was necessary to be economical, he was economical; and when liberality was called for, he was liberal: in each department he did what was requisite. With such a sovereign as Yù, I can truly find no fault.

The Kweì Shîns above mentioned, we are told by the critical commentator, refer to 祖考 the manes of departed parents and ancestors. So that we have no need to seek far for the meaning of the terms in the present intance, and the use of the word 孝 filial affection, instead of 敬 respect, with reference to the Kweì Shîn, is accounted for. It shews also what a wide acceptation the words are capable of, and how difficult it is to assign to them any definite meaning.

In the 6th Book of Discourses and Conversations, and the 3d page, we have another reference to the Kweì Shîn, as follows:

"K'hé-loó or (Tszè loó), enquired about serving the Kweì Shîns? When Confucius said, Not being able to serve men, how can you expect to serve the Kweì. He again asked about death; when the sage replied Not being fully acquainted with life, how can you expect to understand death

The Commentator says, that K'hé-loó asked about serving the Kweì Shîns, with the view of knowing the object with which sacrifices are offered; moreover death is a thing which men cannot avoid, and consequently we should not be ignorant of it; both of these, therefore, are important questions. Yet unless a man were sufficiently sincere and respectful, to enable him to serve his fellow men, he certainly would not be able to serve the Shîns; also unless a man traced things up to their original, and knew that whereby he obtained life, he certainly would not be able to revert to the end of things, and know the cause wherefore he should die. For the visible and invisible worlds, together with the beginning and end of man, are originally no two principles; but learning has it gradations, and we must not be like those who jump over the forms at school; therefore Confucius administered to him this caution. Ching-tszè says, As the day and the night, so is the principle of life and death; if a man knew the principle of life, he would know the principle of death; and if a man could carry out the principle serving of men, he could also carry out the principle of serving the Kweì. Life and death, men and Kweì, are one and yet two, are two and yet one. Some have said, we do not know but that Confucius's not informing Tszè-loó, was the most effectualy way to inform him.

The paraphrase is as follows: K'hé-loó. enquired regarding the Kweì Shîn, that as it was proper for men to serve them, he should

like to know the way in which we ought to do it. Confucius replied; Human beings and the Kwei are one and the same; the way in which we are to serve the Kwei Shîn is precisely similar to that in which we ought to serve our fellow men. If amongst our parents and brethren, relations and superiors, we cannot carry out the feeling of respect and sincerity, in order to serve them, we shall be blamed by men in the visible, and not only by the Kwei in the invisible world how then can we serve the Kwei, so as to induce them to approach and enjoy the sacrifices we offer. If you, Sir, wish to serve the Kwei Shîn, you have only to seek for the principle in the serving of men, and that will be sufficient. He again enquired respecting death, which is what every man must come to, wishing to know the reason for which men die. Confucius said, Life and death are one and the same; the principle on which men die, is the same as that on which they live; but if from the time of our birth, we cannot tell exactly how heaven bestowed on us form, or conferred on us our nature; if in these principles we are deficient, then living we do not comply with the business for which we were sent here, nor dying can we expect to rest peacefully, how then can we anticipate the close of life, and know how we are to die. If you, Sir, wish to know all about death, you have only to strive to know all about life, and that will be sufficient.

In a critical commentary on this passage, we have the following remarks: Nan-hēen observes on the words Kwei and Shîn, that, when taken together, that which advances and is inscrutable in its approach, is the Shîn; while that which departs and does not return, is the Kwei; speaking of them separately, whatsoever in heaven, earth, hills, rivers, wind, and thunder, can be connected by the aura or breath of nature, is always called the Shîn; while ancestors and deceased parents, who are sacrificed to in the ancestorial temple, are all called the Kwei; using these words with reference to men and things, then, that which collects and lives, is the Shîn, while that which scatters and dies, is the Kwei; using the words with reference to the human body, then the 魂 finer parts of the animal soul, with the breath, constitute the Shîn, while the 魄 grosser parts of the animal soul, and the body, constitute the Kwei. Thus the words are the same as those used when speaking of men. Moreover, if we wish to comprehend the subject in a clear point of view, we should say, that if our sincerity and respect are not sufficient to serve men, then certainly we shall not be able to carry out our duty towards them, how much less can we serve the Shîn? But if in serving our prince or parents, we can carry out the feeling of respect and sincerity to the utmost, and transfuse this feeling into the service of the Kwei Shîn, then in sacrificing to our ancestors, we should do it as if they were present, and in sacrificing to the genii of hills and rivers, we should do it as if they were present. If the saying, that when the 氣 breath or energies collect, then a man lives, and when they disperse he dies, would fully illustrate the subject, then men would all understand it. Yet we should know that men have received a variety of principles from heaven, which are certainly completed, and by no means defi-

cient; but it is necessary to carry out these principles of life, every one without the least defect, and then when we die, the principle of life being exhausted, we may rest in death without shame. This is what Chang-tsze calls, complying with our proper business while yet preserved, and resting peacefully when we die. The philosopher when abroad served the nobles, and at home served his parents and elder brethren, and in so doing the service of the Kweì Shîn was included. Therefore he said, I have been in the habit of praying for a long season. At fifty years of age he knew the decrees of heaven, and of course the knowledge of death was therein included; hence he said, When in the morning we hear of the right way, in the evening we may die and rest contented. From the visible he went on to the invisible, from the commencement of things he passed on to their termination; in this he shewed his attention to order. But without being able to serve men, the first wishing to know how to serve the Shîn; and without knowing life, the first wishing to know death, is like jumping over the forms at school. Confucius answered a " not can this," with a " how can that?" and a " not know this," with a " how then know that?" wishing Tszè-loó to follow the proper gradations in acquiring information, and not to look out for some royal road to knowledge. For it is in every-day concerns, and on common occasions that the principle is universally apparent; so that if you can carry out the principle of serving men and knowing life, then you will find that the principle of serving the Kweì and knowing death is included therein: therefore it is said, that they are not two principles. Being one and yet two means, that although men and Kweì, life and death, constitute but one principle, yet they differ in belonging to the visible and invisible world, with the beginning and end of things; their being two and yet one means, that although they differ in belonging to the upper and nether worlds, and in being one at the commencement and the other at the termination of existence, yet the principles which regulate them are by no means two.

In looking over the above extracts, one cannot help being struck with the ease which the words Kweì and Shîn are interchanged, and used the one for the other. Thus, when the disciple asked regarding the service of the Kweì Shîn, the philosopher answered by referring only to the service of the Kweì; while the commentator again says, if a man be not sincere in the service of men, how can he serve the Shîn, shewing that they are nearly synonimous. Further on, under the remarks of Ching tszè, we find men made antithetical to Kweì. The paraphrase also says, that human beings and the Kweì are the same, and the way in which we are to serve the Kweì Shîn, is precisely similar to that in which we are to serve our fellow men; showing that in the estimation of the writer the words could very

do not complain, or if he benefits the people, they do safely be used the one for the other. On referring to the critical comment, we find that the Kweì Shîn treated of in this passage, are the same as the advancing and receding, expanding and contracting principles of nature, which we have all along seen them to be. By a certain elasticity in the energies of nature, heaven and earth revolve and return, mountains rise and rivers flow, winds blow and thunders roll, which the Chinese denominate the Shîn; while the manes of progenitors, which are supposed to have reverted to their original elements, or returned to their mother earth, are the Kweì. In the life and production of plants and animals the same elasticity is found; and the accumulation of substance, with the life and growth of organic being is the Shîn, while the decrease of size and diminution of vigour, till such bodies decompose, is the Kweì. In the human body likewise the same principle is found, and the more volatile, expanding, and vigorous parts of the system, are called the Shîn, while the grosser and corporeal portions are referred to the Kweì.

In the 5th book of Mencius, and on the 8th page, Wăn-chang enquired of Mencius, saying, I beg to ask what is the meaning of introducing (a successor to the throne) to the notice of Heaven, and Heaven's receiving him, displaying him before the people, and the people's receiving him? To this Mencius replied, Setting him to preside over the sacrifices, and the hundred Shîns enjoying them, is the same as Heaven's accepting of him; directing him to superintend affairs, and affairs becoming well-regulated, while the people rest contented with him, is the people's accepting of him; thus Heaven gives it to him, and the people give it to him; hence it is said, the emperor cannot take the empire and give it to any one.

The paraphrase on this passage is as follows: Wăn-chang said, To receive a person thus introduced and displayed, is a very mysterious affair, I beg to ask what is really meant by introducing a person to Heaven, and Heaven's receiving him, or displaying such one before the people, and the people's receiving him? Mencius replied, That which the Kweì Shîn determine on is the same with what Heaven determines on; Yaou's directing Shun to preside over the sacrifices,

and all the Shîns accepting of his offering and enjoying it, what is this but introducing him to Heaven, and Heaven's accepting of him? Yaou's employing Shun to manage the government, and the people's all being reformed by him, and resting contented with him; what is this but displaying him before the people, and the people's receiving him? Heaven's accepting of him is the same as Heaven's giving the empire to him; the people's accepting of him, is the same as man's giving it to him. It was heaven and man that conjointly gave it to him, but Yaou himself could not have given the empire to him. Therefore it is said, the emperor could not give the empire to any one.

In the above extract the only thing worthy of remark, is the apparent identity of the Shîns with Heaven; where the writer says, that the hundred Shîns enjoying the sacrifice is the same as Heaven's accepting of the worshipper; from which some might infer that the Shîn and Heaven refer to one, and the same power. This however, does not exactly follow. With Heaven rests according to the Chinese ideas, the disposal of events, as we are in the habit of ascribing these things to Providence; but as the will of Providence with us, cannot be ascertained except by results, so the will of Heaven can only be ascertained by events; the Shîn, who are supposed to enjoy sacrifices and to testify their approbation of the conduct of the sacrificers, could only do so in accordance with the will of Heaven; when therefore the Shîns do testify their acceptance of persons or services by granting favourable winds, and seasonable showers, it is a testimony to men that Heaven has approved of their offerings. hence it is said, the Shîns accepting of the offering and enjoying it, what is this but Heaven's accepting of it. This does not however prove the identity of the Shîns with Heaven, no more than the approbation of officers, attesting the coincidence of the sovereign, would prove their identity with that sovereign.

In the 7th book of Mencius, 5th page, we have the following: "Măng-tsze said, the people of those who rule by force are sometimes affected by temporary delight; while the people of those who rule by moral influence feel their minds enlarged and satisfied.

"If such a ruler puts any one to death, the people not seem to consider it a high act of merit; the sub-

jects of a virtuous ruler daily improve, and are not aware how it is brought about.

"If the superior man does but pass through a region, it is renovated ; and wherever he 存 fixes his mind on a subject, 神 he influences it in a mysterious manner. In his operations above and below, he moves in a manner similar to heaven and earth ; how can his improvements be described as the mere mending of minor defects ?"

The commentator on this passage says, The superior man is the general appellation of a sage. "If he does but pass through a place he reforms it," means that when in person the superior man passes through a region, the people of that region are without exception reformed ; as when Shún ploughed at Leĭh-san, and the agriculturists all learned to yield the landmarks to each other ; and when he made pots on the banks of the Yellow river, and there was no complaint about the coarseness or porousness of the vessels. "If he fixes his mind on a subject, he influences it in a mysterious manner," means, that when the superior man fixes his mind and gives chief attention to a subject, he 神妙 influences it in a mysterious manner, that is perfectly inscrutable; as it is said of Confucius, that when he set up the people, they were established, when he led them on, they were induced to follow, when he tranquillized them, they were induced to come to him, and when he roused them, they were rendered harmonious ; while no one could tell how he produced those effects. It was the fullness of his virtuous attainments, which moved and acted simultaneously with the renovations of heaven and earth, and moulded the habits of a whole age. Far different from those who ruled merely by force, and only stopped up and mended a few cracks and leaks in the happiness of mankind. This is the way in which the principles of those who ruled by moral influence became great, and this should induce the learner to exert his mind to the utmost.

The paraphrase on this passage says, viewed in this light, how can one easily declare the fullness of the superior man's virtuous attainments. For whenever the superior man makes a temporary application of vigorous infliction, fostering care, or enlightened instruction, the people amongst whom he sojourns for a season are invariably renovated, and he needs not remain a long time among them, before they become in a high degree well regulated. And whenever the superior man bends his attention towards carrying out his principles of vigour, mildness, or moral culture, in every instance in which he fixes his mind, and gives chief attention to the subject, no sooner does he conceive the intention, than he is enabled to bring things into their proper order, so 至神 extremely mysterious and inscrutable is the influence he exerts. Now heaven and earth in its renovations is mysterious, and in this way it completes the work of overshadowing and upholding all things. So also those who rule by moral in-

fluence are 神 mysterious in their renovations, and diffuse the benefits of moulding a whole age; thus the fulness of their virtuous attainments move and act exactly in uniformity with heaven and earth. How then can their work be merely such as the little mending of cracks and leaks, which those who rule by force only effect.

The critical commentary on this passage contains the following remarks: To renovate means, to renew and transform men: the time of passing through a place is very brief, and yet when it is said, that by merely passing through a place the superior man renovates mankind, it intimates that they receive a little of his influence and are immediately reformed; it is not necessary for him to remain long in order to produce this, which shews the rapidity of the transformation. The word "fixing the mind" refers only to a slight degree of attention, as if it were said, the heart desires to have it so. 神 Shîn here means, 神妙不可測 mysterious and inscrutable; the rapidity of the influence exerted by the sage is like the intimate connection between shadow and substance, noise and sound. Wherever he fixes his thoughts he produces a mysterious effect, means that he merely wishes a certain result, and the result is instantly produced; as it is said of the good man, that he follows out his desires, and good order immediately follows: the sincere feeling is present here, and the movement is apparent there; without knowing how it is brought about, it comes to pass spontaneously.

In the above passage, then, according to the commentators, the word Shîn is to be translated mysterious and inscrutable. Some persons, perhaps, would wish to render the term by the word "divine," but it must be remembered that the signification of this word is "appertaining to the true God, or a false god; partaking of the nature of God, or proceeding from him; excellent in the highest degree, and super-human;" in none of which senses is 神 Shîn here employed by the Chinese, but in that of being beyond comprehension, as referring to the extraordinary results of moral power in the case of the superior man.

There is another passage in the 7th Book of Mencius, and the 27th page, which we have already glanced at, but it deserves a more attentive consideration.

Hăou-sang Pih-hae enquired, saying, What sort of a man is Yŭh-chîng-tszè? Măng-tszè said, An amiable man, and a man really possessed of excellence. The disciple enquired, What is meant by being amiable and real? To which the philosopher replied, The desirable person can be considered amiable: one who pos-

sesses virtuous qualities in himself, can be called a really good man: he who possesses them in all their fullness and repletion, may be termed excellent; he who is replete with goodness, and displays it with splendour, may be called magnificent; he who is thus magnificent and capable of renovating others, may be denominated sagelike; whilst he who is sagelike and not to be comprehended by others, may termed mysterious.

On this latter sentence, the commentator Ching-tszè remarks, The sagelike and inscrutable may be denominated the most mysterious quality of the sage, which cannot be fathomed by common minds. It does not mean that above the rank of the sage there is another class of mysterious persons. Yin-she said, From the amiability which is desirable, up to the sagelike virtues, and the mysteriousness which cannot be penetrated, though higher and lower in degree, there is but one principle; when you expand this principle, and arrive at the state of mysteriousness, then there is no name by which it can be designated.

The paraphrase on this passage runs thus: the man who is merely sagelike, and still capable of being comprehended, is not equal to the 神 mysterious person. But the man who is sagelike and incomprehensible, his infinite virtue being pure in that which is not visible, while intentions and imitations are all forgotten; his immense attainments being diffused to an unlimited degree, while sound and colour are all lost sight of, this is to be without any fixed point or settled form, mysterious and not to be penetrated. This is what is called the mysterious person.

The critical commentary on the word Shîn says, The sage is not to be comprehended, therefore he is called 神 mysterious; it does not mean that he is like the Shîns or expanders of nature.

Thus we have gone through all the passages in which Shîn occurs in the text of the Four Books, and find that it means, in some instances, the expanding principle of nature, the energies of the male and female principle, or a sort of anima mundi; and in certain instances, the genii of hills and rivers, who are supposed to have some influence over wind and rain; we also find it used as an adjective, in which it means inscrutably intelligent and mysterious. Some writers would perhaps in all these instances render the term by god, gods, godlike and divine, but the sense put upon the term by the commentators is very different, and we have seen nothing in the Four Books, as yet, that would warrant us in adopting such phraseology in the trans-

lation of the term, because of its conveying ideas to an English reader which the Chinese did not conceive of when using it.

Let us now turn to a more fertile and authentic source of information, in order to discover the real sentiments of the Chinese ; a source from which the Confucian philosophers derived their information, and a foundation on which their whole system was built, we mean the Five Classics.

In the first book of the Shoo-king, or Historical Classic, and 11th page, we have an account of Shún's doings, on ascending the throne, as follows :

" He then offered the 類 corresponding sacrifice to 上帝 the Supreme Ruler, he presented a 禋 pure offering to the six honoured objects, he 望 looked towards and worshipped the hills and rivers, while he universally included the host of 神 Shîns."

The commentator, in explaining the word 類 " corresponding sacrifice," says, that the 郊 border sacrifice was that which was commonly offered to Heaven, but when it was necessary to sacrifice and make an announcement to Heaven, out of the usual course, the ceremonies used were similar to those employed on occasion of the border sacrifice, therefore such an offering was called 類 the corresponding sacrifice : as in the Great Oath, on occasion of Woò-wâng's attacking Shang-wâng, the regulation enacted, that whenever the emperor wished to go abroad, the offering presented should be called 類于上帝 the corresponding sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler. The word rendered 禋 a pure offering conveys the idea of purity of intention, in order to induce acceptance of the offering. With regard to the honoured ones, the commentator says, that those which were honoured by sacrifices were six ; viz. the four seasons, heat and cold, the sun, moon, and stars, with the spirit that presided over droughts and inundations. The hills and rivers, referred to above, mean the famous hills and great rivers of the country : such as, the five mountains and four principal streams of China. Shún turned towards these in sacrificing, therefore it is said, that he looked towards them. Universally, means all around ; the host of Shîns, refer to the (genii of) mounds and banks, with (the manes of) the ancient sages, &c. The whole passage means, that when Shún had attended to the funeral obsequies of Yaôu, and observed the celestial phenomena, he sacrificed to the Shîn and the K'he, above and below, in order to inform them of his having taken on himself the reins of government.

The paraphrase on this passage says, that Shún having received

the government, became the *lord* of the hundred Shîns of the invisible world, and could not allow himself to neglect the business of sacrifice and announcement. On this account he performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions. There was that High Imperial One, the Supreme Ruler, most honourable and without compare, to be sacrificed to; and although it was not the usual period for offering the 郊 border sacrifice, or sacrifice to Heaven, yet the ceremonies were the same, and therefore he presented a 類 corresponding sacrifice. This was the ceremony used in venerating Heaven. With respect to the six objects of honour, viz. the four seasons, heat and cold, the sun, moon, and stars, with drought and inundation, seeing that they ought to be sacrificed to, he manifested towards them a pure intention, in order to induce acceptance, and did not let it drop into a mere empty ceremony; thus he carried out the feeling of venerating Heaven, to reach to 天神 the celestial Shîns. The famous hills and great rivers, are such as the five mountains and four principal streams; the Shîns presiding over them are distantly scattered in various places, and Shún could not personally proceed to their localities; thus he looked towards the regions where they were, and sacrificed to them; his contemplating them, was just the same as his personally visiting them; thus he carried out the feeling of honouring Heaven, and applied it to the 地祇 terrestrial K'hes. With respect to the (genii of) mounds and banks, with (the manes of) emperors and philosophers of successive generations, who had merit among the people, and were recorded in the sacrificial books, to every one of these he sacrificed and announced on all sides, without neglecting any; this was carrying out the feeling of venerating Heaven, and extending it to the 人鬼 manes of men. Thus he sacrificed to more than one Shîn, and performed more than one kind of ceremooy, while the object he had in view, of informing them of his having assumed the reins of government, was one and the same.

In the above extract, it is evident that the word Shîn refers to the manes of departed emperors and philosophers, whose tombs were extant, and is confined to what the paraphrase calls 人鬼 manes of deceased persons; while the Supreme Ruler to whom the new sovereign first paid adoration is described as that Imperial One, most honourable, and without compare.

On the 19th page of the same book, we have the instructions of the emperor to Kweì, regarding music, the effect of which was said to be "to cause the 神 Shîns and men to be harmonious;" the commentator on this passage says, that when music is in harmony, it may be played up in the court, or brought forward at the time of sacrifice, and in the ancestorial temple, and

both Shîns and men would be harmonized.

The critical commentator, on this passage, says, that when such music is played up, at the time of the 郊 border sacrifice, or in the 廟 ancestorial temple, it then moves heaven and earth, and causes the manes of ancestors and departed parents to descend and approach, thus the Shîns are in every case agreeable; and when such music is played up in the court, then it distils through the host of princes, and renders cordial the various officers, and men are without exception harmonious. Thus it appears, that the Shîn here are the 天神 celestial expanders, who accept of the border sacrifice to Heaven, and the manes of departed ancestors, who enjoy the offerings presented in the ancestorial temple.

In the 23rd page of the same book, we have the passage quoted by Kang-he, and already referred to; where speaking of Yaou, he is said to be 乃聖乃神 sagelike and inscrutably intelligent; the commentator tells us, with reference to the words here employed, that the emperor, on account of his greatness of mind and capacity for reforming mankind, was called sagelike; and on account of his sagelike qualities, which could not be comprehended, he was called 神 inscrutably intelligent; which idea the paraphrase lays out thus; on account of the unconstrainedness of his actions, and because he reformed all those to whom he applied his mind, he was called 聖 sagelike; while on account of his mysterious influence that could not be traced, which enabled him to exhaust every thing which he examined into, he was called 神 inscrutably intelligent.

On the 29th page of the same book, we have the following dialouge between the Emperor Shún and the Great Yù, on occasion of the former's proposing, that the latter should take charge of the government:

"Yu said, Repeatedly prognosticate among the meritorious officers, and make use of those who possess favourable omens. To which the emperor replied, Oh Yù! the official prognosticators first make up their minds to an affair, and then commit it to the decision of the great tortoise; now my mind is already made up; on enquiry of my counsellors they are all agreed; the Kweì Shîns also comply; while the divination by

straws and tortoise-shells, harmoniously coincides ; in divining we ought not to repeat the process, when we have obtained a favourable answer. Yu made obeisance with his head to the ground, and steadily declined the honour ; when the emperor said, Do not decline, you alone are suited to the station."

The Kweì Shîn above referred to are the usual objects of worship, before whom prognostications were made, in order to ascertain what was to be done ; while the result of the prognostications being favourable, was supposed to indicate the assent of the Kweì Shîns to the scheme. The paraphrase says, " the lucky or unlucky omens of the Kweì Shîn may be ascertained from the agreement or non-agreement of the people with the measure. Now then that the people's minds are compliant and agreeable, it is evident that the Kweì Shîn are favourable.

On the next page we meet with the title of 神宗 the mysterious ancestor, which refers to the emperor Yaou.

On the 31st page of the same book, we have the following passage :

" For thirty days, the people of Meaou resisted the imperial commands. Yĭh at that time assisted with his advice the co-emperor Yu, saying, It is virtue alone that affects Heaven, and there is no distance to which its influence does not extend. Fullness calls for diminution, while humility obtains additions ; this is the way of Heaven. When the emperor Shun formerly dwelt at Leĭh-san, he went out into the fields, and daily cried and lamented before the compassionate Heavens, regarding his want of success with his parents : he took their faults on his own person, and charged himself with their delinquencies ; being at the same time respectfully cautious in business. When he appeared before his father Koo-sow, he was thoroughly impressed with veneration and awe : until Koo-sow was also induced sincerely to comply with virtue. Now he who is extremely harmonious and sincere, can influence the Shîns, how much more these people of Meaou? Yu made obeisance on hearing these excellent words, and said, Good! he then withdrew his soldiers in battle array ; while the emperor extensively diffused his accomplished virtue, causing the staves

and feathers to be brandished on both steps of his hall, and in seventy days the people of Meaou came to submit."

The 神 Shîns above spoken of are the 神明 intelligent spirits and manes of departed ancestors. The word does not refer to Koo-sow, who was not dead at that time, and therefore could not be a Shîn. The paraphrase has the following remarks ; " what men are most deficient in is sincerity, if we could exercise sufficient truthfulness to influence those around us, then to the utmost possible extent, even to the Kweì Shîns in the invisible world, we should be able to affect and induce them to come, how much more these people of Meaou ? Thus the 神 Shîns of this passage are the Kweì Shîns, manes of ancestors and spirits of hills and rivers, who may be brought near by the sincere feeling of sacrificers.

In the 3d book of the Shoo-king, and at the 7th page, we read as follows : " The Sovereign of Hëá has obliterated all traces of virtue, and commenced a system of cruelty, in order to oppress you people of the various states ; while you people of the various states being involved in these wicked inflictions, and unable to endure their bitterness and poison, have unitedly announced your innocence to the upper and nether 神 Shîns and 祇 K'hés. Now Heaven's plan is to bless the good and curse the bad, therefore has Heaven sent down calamity on the sovereign of Hëá, in order to display his iniquity "

The Shîn and K'hé, in the above passage, are the celestial Shîns and terrestrial K'hés, who are appealed to by the people in seasons of misfortune ; called also the 鬼神 Kweì Shîn, (by the Commentator,) to whom the people look up for deliverance out of calamity. The paraphrase says, that the people, feeling the extremity and bitterness of their misery, complained of their sad condition to the Shîns in heaven above, and to the K'hés on earth below, expecting that high Heaven would (through their intercessions) deliver and save them.

The next sentence of the Shoo-king, is as follows :

" Therefore I, the insignificant one, having received Heaven's decree to display its terribleness, do not dare to spare, (the sovereign of Hëá) ; I have now ventured to use a sombre-coloured victim (in sacrifice), whilst I presumed to announce clearly to the high Heavens, and to the 神后 Shîn how, making known the offences of Hëá. Moreover, I intreated the chief sage, (E-yin) to exert his strength with me, that I might, in

conjunction with you people, implore a prolongation of the celestial decree in our favour."

The Shîn how, according to the commentator, means the 后土 empress Earth, which is associated in the Chinese mind, 皇天 with imperial Heaven, here called 上天 high Heaven, in the management of human affairs. 神 Shîn is therefore, in this connection, an adjective, qualifying 后 how, and the phrase may be rendered the spiritual or intelligent empress (of earth.)

On the 10th page of the 3rd book, we have the following passage:

"E-yun said, Oh yes! the first prince of the Hëá dynasty encouraged the virtuous principles within him, and consequently escaped celestial calamities, while the Kweìs and Shîns of the hills and rivers were universally tranquil; even to the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, there was universal compliance (with the dictates of their nature): but Këĕ, the later descendant of that ancient prince, does not conform to such an example; so that Imperial Heaven has sent down calamities, and borrowed our T'hang's help, with whom now rests the decree of Heaven. Hëá practiced the things for which he may be opposed, first at Ningteaou; our undertakings commenced at Pŏ."

The paraphrase on this passage says, that in the time of Yù, the virtuous founder of the Hëá dynasty, the Kweì Shîns of the hills and rivers severally rested content with the usual course, enjoying their sacrifices, and thus were universally tranquil. From this we see, that the Kweì Shîns intended were those that presided over hills and rivers, and exerted their influence in promoting disturbance or tranquillity, according as the princes of the time were virtuous or otherwise.

On the 13th page of the same book, we have a reference to the 上下神祇 upper and nether celestial Shîns and terrestrial K'hés, which is similar in meaning to the quotation from the 7th page.

On the 17th page of the same book, we have the following:

"E-yun again announced to the king saying, Oh yes! Heaven has no particular family, which it takes into near connection with itself, but it takes into near rela-

tionship those who are able to manifest due respect; the people have no single individual whom they perpetually regard, but they regard those who are benevolent. The Kweìs and Shîns have no person from whom they exclusively accept sacrifices, but they accept of those who are able to manifest sincerity. How difficult then is it to occupy the imperial throne!"

The commentator says, "the terms respect, benevolence, and sincerity are severally employed with reference to what is considered of most importance to each one separately. In this view of it, Heaven must be treated with respect; Heaven is that to which belongs the 理 fitness of things, therefore whether moving or at rest, speaking or being silent, we must not allow ourselves to indulge the least particle of disrespect. So also the people must be treated with benevolence, for what should the people look up to, unless to their prince; while the destitute, widows, orphans, and solitary persons ought all to be compassionated by the prince. In like manner, the Kweì Shîns must be treated with sincerity; for without sincerity there will be no 物 thing (present at sacrifices); but when sincerity is manifested on our parts, the Shîns on their part will make approaches to us.

The paraphrase on this passage is as follows: E-yun having informed the king of the duty of regarding the latter end of things, still found his mind ill at ease. He therefore a second time announced to the king saying, Oh yes! a sovereign is the Son of Heaven, and the lord both of the 民 people and the 神 Shîns. Heaven is elevated on high, is most honourable, and has no particular family to which it is attached, but the prince should manifest reverence in order to keep himself upright; thus whether at motion or at rest, whether speaking or silent, he should always feel as if Heaven were present surveying his actions; then his mind would be in unison with Heaven, and Heaven would be present with him, and take him into relationship. With respect to the common people, they are either inclined to or averse from a prince: there is no particular person to whom they are attached, but they attach themselves to those who possess benevolence: if you soothe and compassionate the wretched and distressed, when each one becomes a recipient of your bounty, they will all love to acknowledge and submit to you. The Kweì Shîns are neither seen or heard, how can they be supposed constantly to accept of sacrifices? but they do accept of the sacrifices of those who are extremely sincere: when the animal spirits are consolidated and collected, then the thoughts will be invariably true, and the Shîns will of themselves come and enjoy the sacrifice. Viewing it in this light, when a prince occupies the celestial throne, he ought not only to unite with the heart of Heaven above, but in the visible world, with respect to all the people, and in the invisible world, with respect to the Kweì Shîns, he should always have something wherewith to steady his mind. But if he is

destitute of respect, benevolence, and sincerity, then Heaven will reject him, the people will rebel against him, and the Shîns will spue him out of their mouths. How difficult then is his position !

In the above passage the Kweì Shîns referred to are the usual expanders and contracters of nature, who are supposed to accept of or reject sacrifices, according to the sincerity of the worshipper : the prince is therefore exhorted to the practice of sincerity, in order to secure the acceptance of sacrifices, and the consequent obtaining of winds and showers. And yet it is singular, that while he is directed to look up to the Kweì Shîns for acceptance, he should be called the lord of the 神 Shîns, as well as of the 民 people. This is certainly an anomolous view of the matter. But we shall be able to account for it, if we consider, that according to Chinese notions, it is 天命 the decree of heaven that fixes the individual or family on the throne ; once fixed, the emperor, as the 天子 son of heaven, becomes the superintendent both of the Shîns and the people, appointing the one as much as the other to their respective offices, and looking to the Shîns for doing their part in giving favourable seasons, as he does to the people to contribute their quota towards the public support ; thus it is that the emperor may be lord of the Shîns, and yet look to them for their acceptance of sacrifices. Some are of opinion, however, that the words lord of the Shîns, should be understood with reference to the act of sacrificing, in which the Shîns are invited as guests to a feast, while the sacrificer, as the host, asks them to partake of the entertainment provided for them.

On the 19th page of the same book, we have following passage :

E-yun having given over the government to his sovereign, was about to announce his retirement, and therefore set forth an admonition regarding virtue, saying, "Alas! Heaven is hard to be calculated on ; its decree is not constantly fixed in one family ; if a prince can be constant in his virtue, he can then preserve his hold of the throne ; but if his virtue is not constant, the nine provinces will be lost to him. The

last sovereign of Hëá could not be constant in his virtue, but was disrespectful to the 神 Shîns and oppressive to the people; thus imperial Heaven would not protect him, but looked about, through all quarters, for one who could open and lead out the celestial decree, thus carefully seeking for one possessed of single-eyed virtue, that he might be appointed lord of the Shîns; then I, with T'hang, both possessing this single-eyed virtue, were able to gratify the mind of Heaven, and receive its bright decree, in order to obtain the hosts of the nine provinces; thus we altered the mode of reckoning the year adopted by the Hëá dynasty."

The commentator on this passage tells us, that lord of the Shîns, means lord of all the Shîns; which agrees with the passage above quoted, regarding the emperor being lord both of the Shîns and the people. This imaginary precedence of the son of heaven to the hundred Shîns is sometimes exercised even in the present day, when the emperor bestows on various Shîns new titles, or degrades others from their previously appointed dignity, to induce them to grant still more favourable seasons, or to punish them for some neglect in this particular. (Though the word lord is capable of being rendered host, and it is possible that it refers only to the emperor's presiding as host at the sacrifices to which the Shîns are invited to attend as guests.) It reems also that a ruler must be very careful in his conduct towards invisible beings, as a former sovereign is said to have been rejected by Heaven, on account of his contemptuous treatment of the Shîns, as well as his oppressive conduct towards the people; inasmuch as the customary rites being withheld from the Shîns is as repugnant to the fitness of things, as the people would feel the being debarred from privileges is opposed to equity.

In the 3d book, and 28th page, we have the word 神 Shîn, qualifying 后 prince, where the speaker says, "I reflect upon our former 神后 intelligent prince, labouring in behalf of your ancestors: and I am thus greatly assisted in nourishing you, because I look upon you in the light of their descendants." In this passage, we are evidently to look upon Shîn as an adjective, and in conformity with a former passage, wherein the qualification it refers to is a perfection of wisdom, not to be appreciated by the vulgar, must translate it *inscrutably intelligent.*

In the 3d book of the Shoo-king, and the 26th page, we have the following: "When by too frequent repe-

tition contempt is brought upon sacrifices, this may be considered disrespectful: and when ceremonies are over-burdensome, they result in confusion; in such cases the service of the Shîns will be difficult."

On this passage the commentator says, Sacrifices abhor a too frequent recurrence; if by such constant repetition they are undervalued, this will result in a want of respect. Ceremonies should not be burthensome; when they are annoyingly troublesome, they are likely to produce confusion; neither of these comport with the way in which we should hold intercourse with the Kweì Shîns. The customs of the Shang dynasty, at that time led men to 尚鬼 over-esteem the Kweì, and Kaou-tsung, (the reigning monarch addressed in the above sentence) could not perhaps extricate himself from the bondage of custom; thus in the ceremonies used in the service of the Shîns, he was apt to fall into error. His progenitor had already guarded him against, either profuseness or familiarity in sacrificing, and here Foo-yuĕ, endeavours to point out his faults and correct them.

The paraphrase on this passage is as follows: With respect to the service of the Shîns, this also is according to the course approved by Heaven. Sacrifices, however, have originally a fixed period, and if you do not observe their proper number and order, but err in a too common repetition, this may be called disrespectful. Ceremonies also have a settled number, but if you seek to have them more complete and elegant than ordinary, then you will err in being over-burthensome, and thus convert them into a mingled confusion. When disrespect and confusion prevail, will it not be difficult to serve the Shîns? This is a caution addressed to Kaou-tsung, on account of his prevailing errors, and is also one of the ordinances of Heaven. In the service of the Shîns, to respect and keep them at a distance, is the height of intelligence. Familiarity and confusion, however, shew the presence of selfish desires, and is not the way approved by Heaven: how can a man thus serve the Shîns? therefore the caution is administered. The principles of high Heaven, are perfect: if ministers invariably respected and complied with them, the people would in every case submit to good government.

In the above extracts, we perceive the usual interchange of the words Kweì and Shîn, as though they were synonimous; we cannot fail to observe, also, a recurrence of the irreligious spirit of the Chinese philosophers, which makes them so averse to a too frequent observance of sacrifices, or to an annoying repetition of the ceremonies used on such occasions; ostensibly with a view of keeping up the dignity of the observances, but really to draw off people's minds from an overweening attachment to invisible beings. The whole teaches us in what a secondary rank the

Kweì Shîns were held, and that keeping them at a distance was considered the height of intelligence.

In the 3rd book of the Shoo-king, and the 44th page, we read as follows:

"Now the people of the Yin dynasty rob and plunder the pure and perfect sacrificial animals, which should be offered to the Shîns and the K'hés; these they are allowed to secrete and devour, without any calamitous visitation."

The commentator, referring to the animals offered to the Shîns and K'hés, speaks of them as the things used in sacrifice to heaven and earth, because the Shîns are those which belong to heaven, and the K'hés those which belong to earth; hence the Chinese are in the habit of considering the celestial Shîns and the terrestrial K'hés, as the recipients of sacrifices presented to heaven and earth; this does not, however, imply, that the Shîns and the K'hés are synonimous with heaven and earth.

In the 4th book, and 4th page, we read,

"Therefore I, the insignificant one, Fă, looking at the defalcation of you friendly states and high princes from Shang, am enabled to form an estimate of the mode of government adopted by that dynasty; but I perceive that Shów, (the tyrant of that race,) has no feeling of remorse, sitting at his ease, without serving the Supreme, or the Shîns and K'hés, while he neglects the manes of his ancestors, and does not sacrifice to them: the sacrificial animals and meat-offerings, are all given over to villainous thieves; while he says, I have got the people under me, and the decree of Heaven in my favour; and there is no one to check him for his insolence."

The commentator on this passage says, That the tyrant Shów had set aside the sacrifices due to the Supreme Ruler, the hundred Shîns, and the manes of ancestors; while the paraphrase lays it out thus, "Shów was dissolute and careless, sitting on his heels, and dwelling at ease, while he considered the sacrifices that should be offered to Heaven and ancestors, as of no importance, not serving the Supreme, nor the celestial Shîns, and terrestrial K'hés, while he deprived his ancestors of the accustomed sacrifices."

In the above passage, we see that the Supreme Ruler is mentioned distinctly and chiefly, while the celestial Shîns and K'hés, with the manes of ancestors are put last.

In the same book, and the 15th page, we have another reference to the Shîns.

"Only may you Shîns be enabled to assist me in settling the millions of the people, and do not bring disgrace on your Shîn-ships."

The paraphrase lays out the above passage, thus: Only may you, the Shîns of heaven and earth, the hills and rivers, perhaps be enabled, in the invisible world, to afford me some assistance, and grant that this one effort may succeed, in order to help and put to rights the millions of the people now immersed in calamity; then the people's happiness would be the result of the Shîn's bestowment. But should it not be so, and these confusions be not repressed, then our disgrace would be to the disgrace of the Shîns.

The Shîns above mentioned, are those which belong to heaven and earth, the hills and rivers: the form of expression would intimate that there was some power above these, and that it was possible they might be unable to grant the supplicator the needful assistance; in which case he says, they would bring disgrace on themselves, by allowing tyranny to prevail, and by not aiding the patriotic efforts of the enterprising Woò-wâng.

In the same book, 32d page, we have a remarkable passage, where Chow-kung, apprehending lest Woò-wâng, who was then sick, should die at too early an age, before he had consolidated the empire, therefore supplicates the manes of his departed ancestors, to take him Chow-kung, instead of his nephew Woò-wâng, on the ground that he was more benevolent and dutiful, and could render the spirits of his progenitors more service in the invisible world, than could Woò-wâng: the passage runs thus;

"I am benevolent and obedient to my progenitors, and possess many abilities and talents, with which I could serve the Kweì Shîns; but your grand-nephew (Woò-wâng) is not like me, Tan, in these numerous accomplishments and abilities, fitted for the service of the Kweì Shîns."

It is evident that the Kweì Shîns here refer chiefly to the manes of his ancestors, who, the supplicator thinks, might be benefited by his service in the invisible world; and therefore, he recommends himself to their notice as an accomplished minister, that could aid

them considerably by his unremitting attentions. He says this, not in the spirit of boasting, but with the view of inducing the Kweì Shîns to take him, or to effect his removal from the present life, in the stead of his nephew Woò-wâng. This act is lauded by the Chinese as an act of intense benevolence and devotedness. "For a good man some would even dare to die."

In the same book, and 42d page, we have the following:

"You alone tread in the footsteps, and cultivate the virtues of your great predecessor, for this you have long had a good name, being respectful and cautious, filial and reverential towards both Shîns and men; I admire your virtue, and should say, That you have been liberal, and not unmindful of your ancestors. The Supreme Ruler, has constantly enjoyed your offerings, while the lower people, have been carefully soothed; I, therefore, appoint you to be an archduke, to superintend this eastern territory of Hëá."

The Shîns above spoken of, are those which are sacrificed to, and consequently mean the celestial Shîns and the terrestrial K'hés, with the genii of the hills and rivers.

In the fifth book, and 42d page, we have a singular passage, as follows:

"But our kings of the Chow dynasty, have well succeeded in obtaining the hosts of the people, and are equal to the burden of sustaining virtue, so that they can preside at the sacrifices offered to the Shîns and to Heaven; while Heaven has taught our princes, and led them on to excellence, selecting them as the proper objects on whom to bestow the decree once established in favour of Yin, and to rule over you numerous states."

In the 書經日講 Familiar Explanation of the Shoo-king, the phrase 惟典神天 "presiding at the sacrifices offered to the Shîns and to Heaven," is thus paraphrased; 可典司神天、爲上帝百神之主、can superintend (the sacrifices offered to) the Shîns

and the Heavens, and be the host of (or offerer of sacrifice to) the Supreme Ruler, and the hundred Shîns. By this we see, that the word Shîn here, is not to be taken as qualifying Heaven, but as referring to the hundred Shîns, as distinguished from Heaven. The author of these pages, in his translation of the Shoo-king, mistook Shîn for an adjective; but since he has met with the Familiar Exposition above quoted, he has seen that Shîn must be taken substantively, and have reference to the Shîns that the Chinese are in the habit of sacrificing to. The putting of the Shîns before Heaven, so contrary to the usual practice of the Chinese, has caused no little difficulty in the explanation of the passage; but the reason of that arrangement probably was, to distinguish the Shîns from the heavens, with which they would have been confounded had the expressions been reversed: for 天神 t'hëen shîn, would have meant the Shîns of Heaven alone, while 神天 shîn t'hëen, must mean both the Shîns and the Heavens.

In the 6th book, 3d page, we have the following:

"The chief baron regulated the ceremonies of the country, and managed (the sacrifices offered), both to the Shîns and to the manes of men, thus harmonizing those above and those below."

The commentator here says, that he managed the business of the celestial Shîns, the terrestrial K'hés, and the human Kweìs.

The paraphrase explains the passage thus: "there was the chief baron, called also the officer presiding over spring, who had to manage the ceremonies of the country, such as the 郊 keaou and 社 shay sacrifices, in order reverently to present offerings to the Shîns of heaven and earth; as also the 禘 te and 祫 hëä sacrifices, in order with filial piety to gratify the manes of ancestors: both these were certainly important ceremonies, and the chief baron attended to the adjustment of these, that the regard to external objects and internal feelings might be well-regulated, and not thrown into disorder. But among the Shîns, as well as among the manes of men, there were the high and honourable ones, who differed considerably from the low and mean ones, these were to be harmonized. Thus the arrangement of altars and terraces (used in sacrificing to the Shîns), and the seniority and inferiority (observed among the different generations of ancestors), together with the sacrificial animals, and presents of silks, prayers and ejaculations, would be all arranged in proper order, and not allowed to fall into confusion. All which was the work of the

chief baron. This passage sets forth the duties of the chief baron; the management of the Shîns and the manes of men, both refer to the 主祭祀 superintendence of sacrifices offered to them respectiveiy.

From the above extract we perceive that the Shîns were the celestial Shîns and terrestrial K'hés, while the (manes of) men refer to ancestors.

On the 7th page of the same book, we read,

"I have heard it said, that the extreme excellence of good government is so fragrant that it influences 神明 intelligent and invisible beings; that millet and rice, (used as meat offerings) are not particularly fragrant, but that illustrious virtue is especially odoriferous. Do you then make use of these instructions (of Chow-kung), be daily attentive, and do not dare to give way to ease and pleasure."

The paraphrase on this passage is as follows: When the 郊 sacrifice to Heaven is offered, the 天神 celestial Shîns descend; and when the 廟 sacrifices in the ancestorial temple are presented, the 人鬼 human Kweìs, or the manes of men, enjoy them; which shows that such services are sufficient to influence invisible and intelligent beings. When people see that they are influenced, they think that the rice and millet used on such occassions affect them; not knowing that rice and millet are merely the savoury food prepared for the use of the Shîns, and do not possess any true fragrance. But when a man really possesses resplendent virtue, in his own person and heart, as the ground-work of excellent government, this spirit of harmony, ascending like fumes and pervading all around, while the Shîns truly enjoy it, is what may be called true fragrance.

From the above extracts we perceive, that the word 神明 intelligent and invisible beings, or spiritual intelligences is used for both the Kweì and the Shîns, and may be applied, as well to the 天神 Shîns of Heaven, contemplated at a season of sacrifice, as to the manes of progenitors, worshipped in the ancestorial temple.

In the 5th section of the Book of Odes, 53d page, we read:

"Oh you our good friends! do not suppose you will be continually at ease, but quietly fulfil the duties of your station, sending only honest men to our assistance, then the Shîns will listen to you, and grant you plenty of emolument."

The paraphrase on the latter part of this passage is, "If you thus cause every thought to be respectful and sincere, when confronting yourelves for enquiry before 神明 invisible and intelligent beings, you will have no cause for shame; but the Shîns will listen to you, and being gratified by the simplicity of your transparent conduct, will reward you with the advantages arising from the practice of goodness, and afford you emolument without parsimony."

Thus the above passage is similar to the one already quoted from the Happy Medium, where the writer speaks of confronting one's conduct for enquiry before invisible and intelligent beings. There is, however, an additional idea appended here, viz. that these invisible and intelligent beings are capable of approving and rewarding the good conduct of men, which shews that the Chinese looked up to them for their approval and blessing; but from comparison with this and other passages we may infer, that such blessing only respected inferior things, such as the increase of emolument, but was not supposed to interfere with the decree of Heaven. The next sentence of the Book of Odes is of similar import.

In the 5th section, and 55th page, we read,

"When formerly the ground was overgrown with brambles, (the ancients) said, let us clear away the thorns: why did they thus clear the ground? but that we should plant it with grand and panicled millet; now our grand millet is abundant, and our panicled millet plentiful, so that our granaries are full, and our stores overflowing, to enable us to make wine and eatables, to present as offerings (to the Shîns), and pacify and soothe (the representatives of the dead), thus bringing down on ourselves great and abundant happiness.

"(In the sacrifice) now offered, the dresses and manners are duly regulated, the sheep and oxen pure and clean, while they proceed to offer the winter and autumnal sacrifices; also whether they flay the victims, or boil their flesh, whether they spread out the feast or present the offerings, they perform these services in the gate-way of the temple; the sacrifices being thus fully prepared, the first ancestors will be magnified, and the 神保 invisible surety will be satisfied; thus the filial

descendant will be blessed, and rewarded with great happiness, while the family will extend to myriads of ages without intermission."

The commentator here says, that the offerings were to be presented in the gate-way of the temple, because the filial descendant did not know the exact place where the Shîns might be; he therefore prayed and sought them in the gate-way of the temple, where guests are generally received. The 神保 invisible surety, was the title given to the individual representing the dead, and sitting in the seat of honour at sacrifices; this person was also called 靈保 the spiritual surety: it was also the title given to the necromancer who brought down the Shîns by his incantations.

"(The meaner attendants at this sacrifice) even those who manage the kitchen, are all respectful, providing the dishes proportionably large, filled with roasted flesh or broiled meat; (so also the more noble attendants at this solemnity), such as the lady of the prince, is still and guarded, bringing the plates in great abundance; the guests and visitors pledge one another and return the compliment, all the ceremonies are very exact, the smiles and conversation are according to strict etiquette, thus the 神保 invisible surety will approach and reward us with great happiness, and for myriads of ages renumerate our services.

"We have now fully performed the sacrifice, and have not erred in the use of ceremonies. The offerer of the public prayer has communicated the announcement, and coming before the filial descendant (who presides over the sacrifice) has said, Since the sacrifices have been so fragrant, and the Shîns have enjoyed the liquors and viands presented, they will bestow upon you a hundred blessings; making them come according to the season, and be abundant according to the rule; since you have been exact and expeditious, regular and guarded in your services, they will perpetually bestow on you the extreme of blessings, in thousands and myriads of instances.

"The ceremonies having been completed, and the bells and drums having announced the fact, the filial descendant having returned to his post (at the foot of the stairs), the offerer of the public prayer, having commu-

nicated the announcement, and the Shîns having been sufficiently intoxicated: the imperial representative of the dead having risen up, and the drums and bells having escorted him out, while the 神保 invisible surety having retired; then all the attendants, together with the women, remove the viands without delay (for the use of the guests,) while the fathers and brethren (of the family) are invited to partake of a private entertainment."

The commentator says here, that the Kweì Shîns are invisible beings, and when the text speaks of their being intoxicated and of their returning, it is really intended to honour them, because the phraseology employed implies their actual presence.

"The musicians have all entered to play up (in the inner apartment), in order to soothe (the nobles), while enjoying the subsequent benefit (of a feast); and now that the viands have all been sent in to them, they will have no cause for complaint, but rather of congratulation; when having thus drunk to inebriety, and fed to the full, they will all, both small and great, bow down their heads, saying, The Shîns having enjoyed the eating and drinking (at the sacrifice), will cause our prince to live long, and he having been very compliant with the usual customs, and very seasonable in the presentation of his offerings, will hand this practice down to his sons and grandsons, who will not allow it to fail, but rather extend and enlarge it."

In all this chapter, the Shîns refer to the manes of departed progenitors, who are sacrificed to in the ancestorial temple, and who in consequence of their enjoying the sacrifices offered by their descendants to satiety, and even to inebriety, are supposed to send down blessings upon the worshippers, perpetuating their dynasty to endless ages, and causing them to retain their stations of power and dignity, that they may continue to be the lords of the Shîns and men. After the sacrifice, the worshippers retire to the inner apartments of the temple, to feast upon the viands, when they also fill themselves to the full with the liquor and viands, even to intoxication, and are as much gratified as the Shîns were supposed to have been.

On the 62nd page of the same book, we read,

"The seed-pod is already formed, and the grain has passed through its early stage, it is already consolidated and fragrant, but in order to prevent the springing up of weeds and tares, and to ward off the blasting and mildew, smut and grub, lest they should injure our young corn, we must rely on the 有神 invisible beings, who are the ancestors of the field, who would then take these four pests and consume them in the flames."

The paraphrase calls the invisible beings above referred to "the Shîns of the ancestors of the field, to whom the former monarchs sacrificed;" thus they are a sort of lares rustici, presiding over the land and grain in that particular region, who by their influence were supposed able to destroy the pernicious insects that might otherwise blight the hopes of the husbandman.

In the Book of Odes, 6th section, and 12th page, we have the following:

"He was obedient to his 宗公 ducal ancestors, and the Shîns did not complain, neither were they grieved."

The commentator on this passage says, That the word "ducal ancestors," refers to the former dukes, who were sacrificed to in the ancestorial temple; the whole means, that Wăn-wâng was submissively compliant to his ducal ancestors, and the Kweî Shîns accepted of and enjoyed his sacrifice, so that they were without complaint or vexation.

The paraphrase says, The former dukes of the house of Chow, for ages displayed excellent virtue; should there be the least departure from such practice, there would unavoidably arise complaints and vexations; but Wân-wâng practised these hereditary virtues, and had been habitually accordant to the example of the former dukes, while the 神明 spiritual intelligences had been influenced thereby, and approached towards him. Luckily he was able to imitate their ancient virtues, and thus left no ground for disapprobation and grief. Thus he has hit upon the right way of connecting himself with the Shîns, or manes of his ancestors.

In the above passage, it is evident that the word Shîu must be taken to mean the manes of ancestors, who would be gratified, or otherwise, by the conduct of their descendants, and shew it by accepting or rejecting their sacrifices.

In the 6th section of the Book of Odes, page 34, we read:

"Your territory is great and glorious, and also very

extensive, Oh triumphant prince! even to the end of your life, you may become the lord (or entertainer) of the hundred Shîns."

The hundred Shîns, according to the commentator, mean the Kweì Shîns of heaven and earth, hills and rivers; and to become the lord of such Shîns, means that the king might preside at the sacrifices offered to them, and be as it were their host or entertainer.

Next follows Sect. 7, p. 5, the sentence already quoted, by the author of the Happy Medium, which is of so much importance, that we will proceed to notice it more particularly.

"Looking at you, whilst associating with your virtuous friends, (I perceive that) your countenance is placid and agreeable, (as if you were saying) lest I should fall into some mistake; but looking at you in your private dwelling, (can I find that) you are peradventure free from self-reproach in your secret chamber? Do not say, that this is no public place, and that there is no one looking at you; for the Shîns in their approaches are not to be scrutinized, how then can you suffer yourself to indulge in indifference?

The commentator says, that this means, Looking upon you during your associations with good men, your countenance conveys the expression of self-guardedness, as if you were perpetually examining yourself, and saying, "How can I avoid falling into mistakes?" For this is the universal feeling of common men, in attending mainly to externals. But when we look at you, dwelling in your own house, you ou ght still, it should seem, to aim at escaping self-reproach in your secret chamber: which would be much better. Do not say, this is not a public place, and no one sees me; for you ought to know the mysteriousness of the Kweì Shîns, that they embody all things without exception, and when they come to any given place, there is something that cannot be scrutinized in their approach; when without any outward appearance they do thus draw near, it is to be apprehended, lest we should commit some fault, how then can we be indifferent and disrespectful? which means that we must not only cultivate good conduct externally, but we must also be careful and tremblingly cautious in that which is neither to be seen nor heard.

The paraphrase runs thus: You should be careful about your conversation, and the work of self-cultivation ought undoubtedly to apply to that which is secret. I perceive that when you associate with your good friends, where your teachers come, and where exhortations reach you, your countenance is harmonious and agreeable, and you

certainly are enabled to avoid falling into mistakes; while your feeling of self-guardedness is as if you were constantly examining yourself, and saying, "How can I avoid errors?" Thus attentive are you to the cultivation of personal virtues in public. But it is necessary also to observe you in your private dwelling; where, although you may not be heard nor seen, yet you ought to keep yourself by respect, and guard yourself by propriety, when perhaps you may avoid self-reproach in your secret chamber. Do not say, that the closet is not a public place, and no one sees or hears me, so that you may indulge negligence. For you ought to know, that the Kweì Shîns, who as it were embody all things without exception, come into this secret place, and examine whatever you do. In these their approaches they are not to be scrutinized; although they do not appear, yet they draw near; and it is to be feared lest in an unguarded moment, we allow ourselves to be indifferent, and just at the period of their coming we fall into some mistake; how then can we treat them with neglect and disrespect? Thus we may see, that the work of self-cultivation combines both the internal and external conduct, has respect to public and private matters, and pervades all our affairs, whether in motion or at rest, requiring one uninterrupted feeling of respectful caution.

The critical commentator on this passage, says, That if the coming of the Kweì Shîns could be ascertained, then we might respect their approach, and despise their absence, so that there would be room for indifference; but now, seeing that their coming cannot be scrutinized, then although every thought be respectful, and we be every moment careful, yet it is to be feared that some mistake may arise, how then can we be neglectful?

From the above extract, we perceive that the Shîns spoken of in the text, are called Kweì Shîns in the commentary, and refer as well to the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, who are said to embody all things, as to the manes of ancestors, who come and enjoy the offerings of their descendants. Their approaches are said to be mysterious and inscrutable, so that we ought ever to be on our guard, lest coming suddenly they find us indulging indifference, and we be exposed to blame. From the Kweì Shîns' occasional approaches, however, we may argue that they are sometimes absent, and therefore, that they are not endowed with ubiquity, nor present at all times in every place. Their embodying of all things, then cannot refer to their being perpetually present in every substance, but that they come and go, approach and recede, at intervals. Sometimes affecting substances to make them spring up and grow, and at other times, causing them to wither and decay,

expanding here and contracting there, as may appear to be necessary; only as we do not know where they may happen to be operating at the moment, it becomes us to be careful, lest we should inadvertently fall into an error, and be blamed accordingly.

In the same section, and on the 13th page, we read as follows:

"Although the famine is thus severe, we will exert our utmost energies, and dread deserting our post; but why are we afflicted with this scourge? how is it that we do not know the reason? in praying for a good year, we have been sufficiently early, in sacrificing to the (genii of the) different quarters, and the (lares of the) land and grain, we have not been backward; how is it that 昊天上帝 the high Ruler of the bright heavens, does not estimate our devotions? respecting and venerating 明神 the intelligent and invisible beings, it would seem that we ought to escape his vexation and rage."

The commentator says, That "praying for a good year," means that in the first month of spring, they prayed to the Supreme Ruler for grain, and in the first month of winter, they supplicated the honoured of heaven, (namely the sun, moon, and stars,) on behalf of the coming year. The passage means, why does not Heaven appreciate our feelings, and knowing that we reverence and serve the intelligent invisibles, it ought not to harbour displeasure towards us.

The paraphrase on the latter part of this passage, says, If we had not been careful in serving the 神 Shîns, then might Heaven be justly displeased with us; but as we have been so respectful in our regard to 明神 intelligent and invisible beings, it seems but proper that Heaven should restrain its wrath.

The Shîns above referred to, are the 天宗 honoured ones of heaven, (sun, moon, and stars) with the genii of the four quarters of the compass, and the lares of the land and grain, respect towards whom would secure the approbation of Heaven, and neglect in such acts of devotion, cause the Supreme Ruler of the bright Heavens to be displeased. From this it by no means follows, that the Shîns are identical with Heaven, or its Ruler, but that the Supreme Power merely takes cognizance of any disrespect manifested towards them,

and punishes it as a departure from the principle of order, and the fitness of things.

In the 14th page of the same book, we read,

"Among the high hills are the mountains, which are great even to heaven; when these mountains sent down their Shîns, they produced Foo and Shin; now these two persons Shin and Foo, constitute the trunk of the Chow dynasty, overshadowing the four surrounding states, and being celebrated throughout all quarters."

The commentator says, That mountains are the most honoured among hills, such as the east, west, north, and south mountains of China. Foo was a marquis, who superintended punishments, and Shin a lord of the same surname. The sense of the passage is, that lord Shin, the brother-in-law of Seuen-wâng, was appointed to an office in the Sëay country, when Yun-keĭh-foò made this ode to accompany him, saying, That the mountains are great and lofty, and have sent down 神靈 the efficaciousness of their Shîns, with the energy of their harmonious feelings, in order to produce the marquis Foo, and the lord Shin, who may truly be said to be the main supporters of the Chow dynasty, overshadowing all and proclaiming their virtues over the whole empire. For the ancestors of the lord Shin of of the present day, and the descendants of the Shin-nung of former times, were the presidents of the four provinces under Yaôu and Shún; these taking the general superintendence of the chiefs over the mountains in the four quarters, and appointing the sacrifices which were offered to the Shîns of the said mountain, could carry out the duties of their office, so that the Shîns enjoyed their sacrifices. Thus the present ode looks back to the ancestors from whom the lord Shin sprang, to shew how the mountains send down their Shîns, and produced the celebrated individual referred to.

In the above passage, it is evident that the Shîns referred to, are the Shîns presiding over hills and rivers. The expression 神靈 shîn ling, occurring in the commentary, must be translated as we have done it above, because the paraphrase says, "that when the mountains are high, their 神 Shîns are 靈 efficacious;" shewing that the phrase must mean the efficaciousness of the Shîns of those mountains.

In the 26th page of the same book, we have the following:

"Why does Heaven afflict? why do the Shîns not enrich? it is because you house those great enemies, and only dislike my advice; you do not regard these calamitous visitations, while your dignified manners

do not correspond, and proper men to assist you are said to be going away; thus your country is destroyed and reduced to misery."

The commentator says, that the above passage means: "Why does Heaven chastise our prince, and why do the Shîns not enrich him? it is because the prince believes and employs women: therefore he will certainly induce the great calamity of foreign invasion. Now the sovereign houses these, and does not shun them with horror, on the contrary he utterly dislikes our faithful exhortations and does not pay respect to them: how is this? Now when Heaven sends down infelicitous things, it is to be hoped that the sovereign will become alarmed, and cultivate personal virtues; but in the present case, the prince meets with calamity and does not regard it, while he is not careful about maintaining a dignified manner; at the same time there are no good men to assist him; under such circumstances it is to be expected that the country would be ruined.

The paraphrase on this passage says, Our sovereign is the Son of Heaven, and Heaven ought therefore to regard him: but how is it that Heaven now chastises our prince, and sends down this distressing calamity? Our emperor also is the lord (or entertainer) of the Shîns, and the Shîns ought to enrich him; how is it therefore that they do not enrich the sovereign, but reduce him to this dreadful poverty? It is all because the emperor believes and employs these women, &c.

Here it is evident that the Shîns referred to are those to whom it is customary to offer sacrifice, because the emperor is said to be their lord, or entertainer, that is the president at the sacrifices offered to them; they are here spoken of as being capable of granting or withholding riches, because in their expandings or contractings, they promote or retard the interests of men. They are nothing more, however, than the celestial expanders, and the terrestrial extracters, with the genii of the hills and rivers, and the manes of ancestors, so often referred to.

In the 8th section of the Book of Odes, and the 5th page, we have the following:

"At the proper seasons, (our emperor) has visited (the princes of) the various states, so that the bright heavens might well perhaps look upon him as a son. Having honoured and arranged the Chow dynasty, Heaven has directed the ruler of it to inspire the princes with awe (by his visits); now every one of them is moved and awe-struck; (while by his sacrifices) he has induced the hundred Shîns to approach and be soothed; even

to (the genii of) the rivers and high hills, (they are all affected): thus we may truly consider our prince as the sovereign of the empire."

The paraphrase on this passage is as follows; "this is an ode sung at the period of imperial visitation, and at that of sacrifice and announcement. It means that our sovereign of Chow, having risen at the time when the decree in favour of the former dynasty of Shang was abrogated, just when people's minds were looking for something correct, and considering that the princes of the empire, without some one to lead them on, would become careless, and the hundred Shîns, without some one to superintend them, would be scattered, commenced these imperial visitations, in order to give audience to the princes of the empire, and do sacrifice to the hundred Shîns. On this account he set about the business in obedience to the will of Heaven; not knowing whether Heaven, in the midst of its deep stillness would bestow on him some gracious consideration, and view him in the light of a son, that he might be the lord both of the Shîns and of men, and the promoter of true doctrine. If not, then we cannot look to Heaven for help. But although Heaven cannot be certainly calculated on, yet if we look to the business that is performed, we may have some evidence of Chow's being the true sovereign. For Heaven has honoured our sovereign of Chow by placing him over the ministers and people, and has given him his rank by arranging him in the succession of the Hëá and Shang dynasties; thus it causes our monarch to give audience and inspire awe among the princes of the empire. Moreover, when we see the regulations and commands he issues, at which all the princes tremble; and the sacrifices which he offers, to which all the Shîns soothingly approach; also when we see the posts assigned, the prayers offered up, with the sacrificial animals, and offerings of silk presented (to the genii), and that the lares of the deep rivers and high mountains are invariably influenced and induced to come; then we perceive that our sovereign is the lord both of the Shîns and men. Now when both the Shîns and men receive their appointments to various posts in this way, we may be sure that the Son of the bright Heavens is none other than this our sovereign. Is it not therefore evident that the prince of Chow is the monarch of the empire.

The critical commentator says, that it was necessary for the hundred Shîns to be enlarged: speaking of the rivers and hills it is evident that they selected the greatest among the hundred Shîns; these rivers not overflowing, and those mountains not being disruptured, it is evident that they were influenced.

From the paraphrase we may understand that the hundred Shîns of the text, are none other the celestial expanders and terrestrial extracters, because of the fear expressed lest they should be scattered, and dispersed into empty air, by not having some one to superintend and to fix them to their post. The word 王 su-

perintend, used here with reference to the Shîns, cannot mean to superintend the sacrifices offered to them, but to excercise authority over the Shîns themselves, because the paraphrast speaks of the posts assigned them, and of their receiving their appointments from the emperor. He is therefore, in the estimation of the Chinese, lord both of the Shîns and men, and can at his will appoint or degrade the various genii, according as they aid or obstruct him in the management of the empire. The genii of the hills and rivers are said to be the great ones among the Shîns, from which we may infer that the little ones preside only over mounds and ditches with more contracted spheres of operation.

In the 禮 記 Book of Ceremonies, section 1st, page 4, we read,

"Prayers and addresses, sacrifices and offerings, are to be presented to the Kweì Shîns, but if these are not according to propriety, they will neither manifest our sincerity nor gravity."

The paraphrase says, that the Kweì Shîns are the perfection of benevolence and righteousness; when a man is sincere, he then possesses the reality of benevolence within, and when a man is grave he exhibits the appearance of righteousness without, both these constitute the actings of propriety.

Here the Kweì Shîns mean those which are sacrificed to: they are said to possess the attributes of benevolence and righteousness, to which the sincerity and gravity of the worshippers must correspond.

In the 35th page of the same book, we have the following:

"The tortoise is for divining, and the straws for prognostications; divinations and prognostications were used by the wise kings of former times, to cause the people to be certain in the selection of times and seasons, to induce a respectful reference to the Shîns, and trembling caution in the enactment of laws; they were also intended to enable the people to determine their hesitations, and to settle their doubts: therefore it used to be said, when in doubt divine, and you will not err; in selecting days for the performance of business, you will also be able to carry out your plans."

The commentator says, that this respectful reference to the Shîns was made, because, although human deliberations were far from being insufficient, yet still prayers were offered to the Kweì Shîns, because the worshippers knew that there was something for them to honour, and they could not dare to be positive.

Here it appears that the Shîns refer to the Kweì Shîns, to whom prayers were to be offered, not because human deliberations were insufficient without them, but to ensure the greater certainty in the management of affairs.

In the 48th page of the same book, we read,

" (When the emperor), on paying his visits of inspection to the princes of the empire, approaches the Kweì Shîns, the form of address is, such and such a distinguished person, now in possession of the empire (makes this application.)

The commentator says, that on these occasions the emperor generally despatches 祝吏 a praying officer to present the sacrifices which should be offered to the Kweì Shîn : and because he himself did not attend, the form of prayer only contained his designation, saying, that such and such an illustrious person presented the offering.

The paraphrase says, that in sacrificing to the hundred Shîns outside the imperial domain, because of their inferiority, the emperor's designation merely was employed, (and not his name.)

Thus it appears, that the Kweì Shîns here referred to, were merely those which presided over hills and rivers, beyond the precincts of the imperial domain, and therefore were considered inferior to those which were supposed to superintend the mountains and streams within that domain.

In the 2nd section, 51st page, we have the following :

" The repetition of the prayer, shewed the intensity of affection (cherished by descendants) and that they had the heart to pray and supplicate. Their looking for (their deceased parents) to return from the invisible world, shewed that they understood the principles of praying to the Kweì Shîns. The turning of the face towards the north, was the usual practice, in praying for anything from invisible beings."

The commentator on this passage says, That the Kweì Shîns dwell in the dark unseen world, and the north is the quarter indicative of darkness, therefore on praying to the Kweì Shîns of the invisible world, it was usual to turn towards the north.

The paraphrase on the above passage says, A filial child, in serving his parents, shews that he possesses the feeling of love: and when parents are deceased, their still expecting them to 復生 return to life, shows that they carry out to the utmost this feeling of love. The invisible world is the habitation of the Kweì Shîns; they expected their 魂氣 spiritual essence to return from the unseen world, therefore it is said, that they looked for their returning from the invisible regions.

Here the Kweì Shîns intended are the inhabitants of the unseen world, from whence the filial child wished his deceased parent to return. It would seem from this, that the Chinese had a slight notion of the resurrection from the dead, but we strongly suspect that the wish was merely an expression of the overweening filial affection of the descendants of the deceased, and did not in the minds of the Chinese amount to a positive expectation of such a revivification.

On the next page, we have the following:

"In pouring out the libation (at funerals) a white vessel was employed, because the living worshipper had the feeling of grief and abhorrence of ornament; but in the ceremony of sacrificing, the host or presiding person felt it necessary for him to carry out his feelings to the utmost, (and therefore used ornament); not that he could be sure that the Shîns would come and enjoy the sacrifice, but to shew that the presiding person had the feeling of veneration and respect."

From the paraphrase it would appear, that the libation was offered immediately after the decease of a progenitor, when the mourner's feelings were yet warm, so that he abhorred all ornament; but the sacrifice was presented some time after, when, although it formed a part of the funeral obsequies, yet being a sacrifice, the offerer thought it his duty to exhibit a preponderance of respect, and therefore had no objection to the use of ornament.

Thus we see, that the Shîns in the above passage, refer to the manes of ancestors.

On the 53rd page, of the same section, we read, as follows:

"With an official cap, and a flaxen head-band, to at-

tend at funerals, is the way to show respectful feeling in holding intercourse with the Shîns."

On this passage, the commentator says, When a person is in mourning, his cap and dress should all wear the customary habit of sorrow ; but at the funeral, when our parents are deposited in the ground, we should then hold intercourse with the Shîns of the hills and rivers, according to the principles of propriety and respect. Thus we should wear a cap of white silk, similar to the cap of office, and use a head-band of fine flax, at the period of the funeral, not daring to hold intercourse with the Shîns in a mournful habit, in order to shew our respect.

The paraphrase says, that holding intercourse with the Shîns, means, when our parents are not yet interred, we pour out libations, and do not sacrifice, because we treat them as if they were men ; but on the day of the funeral, we offer the composing sacrifice, and act towards them as if they were Shîns. One says, that under the Shîns of the hills and rivers, there are subordinates, and the libation is poured out at the roadside, because the host is already returned to his long home. Whenever did a filial child use an official cap and a flaxen head-band, in order to sacrifice to the Shîns of the hills and rivers?

From the above we perceive, that although the Shîns in the text are by the commentator referred to the hills and rivers, they must still be applied to the manes of ancestors, which are only called by the above title, because the bodies of progenitors were deposited in the tombs, which were a sort of hillock, surrounded by dikes to drain off the water. The Shîns here, therefore, have the same reference as those in the preceding quotation.

On the 57th page of the same book, we read as follows :

"They called (the articles used at the funerals of parents,) 明器 resplendent articles, because they considered (their parents) in the light of 神明 invisible and resplendent beings. The mud carriage and the man of straw (for accompanying funerals,) have been employed from all antiquity, and constitute the resplendent articles alluded to. Confucius said, The inventor of the mud carriage and the man of straw was good, but the inventor of the wooden image (to be used for like purposes) was destitute of benevolence ; because it was by no means a matter of doubt that they would lead to the use of men (for a similar object.)

The commentator says, That these men of straw were a little like men, and were intended to act as attendants to the manes of the departed to the shades below; the images, however, were made of wood, and supplied with springs, so that they greatly resembled men, and Confucius denounced this practice, because he was afraid lest they should go on until they made use of living men to accompany the dead.

From the above extract it appears, that the 神明 invisible resplendent beings alluded to, were such as might be the recipients of sacrifice, to whom deceased parents were assimilated. This is the first time we meet with any mention of images in the Chinese classics, and here we find that they were only used to represent attendants to accompany the dead at funerals; from hence it has been inferred, that the ancient clasical Chinese did not practice image worship.

In the 3d section, 41st page, of the 禮記 Book of Rites, reference is made to the sacrifices offered on the different months of the year; thus,

"In the first month of spring, when the sun and moon are in conjunction in 營室 Pisces, and when the star culminating at even is 參 Orion, and that at dawn is 尾 Scorpio; the time being 甲乙 those two days of the cycle that are supposed to refer to wood; the 帝 Té, or presiding Ruler, (on the occasion) is 太皡 T'haé-haou, and the 神 Shîn, or lares (sacrificed to,) is 句芒 Kow-mâng."

The commentator tells us, that T'haé-haou was 伏羲 Fŭh-he, (the first sovereign, according to the Chinese fabulous history, who is supposed to preside over the element of wood); and that Kow-mâng, is the son of 少皡 Shaòu-haou, called 重 Chùng, the minister of the element of wood; these were 聖 the sages, and 神 the Shîns who carried on the rule of Heaven, in establishing the extreme point of excellence; during their lives they possessed merit among the people, therefore succeeding monarchs sacrificed to them in the spring; the presiding Rulers, and the Shîns of the four seasons, afterwards mentioned, are all to be explained in the same way.

This is the first time we have met with the 帝 presiding Rulers, in connection with the Shîns, and therefore it will be necessary to speak of them more particularly. The Chinese mention 五帝 five Rulers, who

are 伏羲 Fŭh-he, presiding over the element of wood; 炎帝 Yen-té, or 神農 Shîn-nûng, presiding over fire; 黄帝 Hwâng-té, presiding over earth; 少昊 Shaòu-haou, presiding over metal; and 顓頊 Chuen-heŭh, presiding over water; these were the first emperors, in the fabulous history of China, who were afterwards elevated to the rank of Shîns. Confucius said, that Heaven appointed the 五行 five elements, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, to be distributed over the seasons, renovating and nourishing, in order to complete the myriad of things; the Shîns of which were called the 五帝 five Rulers. From this it would appear, that the 帝 Rulers were a sort of Shîns, though classed before them in sacrifice, and operating like them under the authority of Heaven, to establish the extreme point of excellence, and to complete the myriad of things.

On the 46th and 49th pages of the same book, are similar passages to the above. On the 53rd, 56th, and 59th pages, the 帝 Ruler is said to be 炎帝 Yen-té, or 神農 Shîn-nûng, presiding over fire, and the Shîn 祝融 Chŭh-yung.

On the 62d page, the 帝 Ruler is said to be 黄帝 Hwang-te, who presided over the element of earth, and the Shîn 后土 How-t'hoo, or empress Earth; upon which the paraphrast remarks, that this was the name of an office, viz. the president of the board of works, filled by one 句龍 Kow lûng, who was able to level the nine regions, hence after his death he was considered the Shîn of empress Earth; for among the presiding spirits of the five elements, only the lares of earth were dignified with the title of empress.

On the 63th, 64th, and 69th pages, the 帝 Ruler is said to be 少皞 Shaou-haou, who presided over the element of metal, and the Shîn 蓐收 Jŭh-show.

On the 73d, 77th, and 80th pages, the 帝 Ruler is said to be 顓頊 Chuen-heŭh, who presided over the element of water, and the Shîn 玄冥 Heuen mîng.

In the 4th Section of the Book of Rites, and the 46th page, after Confucius had dwelt on the excellence of suitable ceremonies in bringing about right rule, his disciple

"Yên-yèn retorted, saying, According to this, then, ceremonies are of the most urgent necessity? To which Confucius replied, By the proper use of ceremonies, the former kings carried out the principle of connecting the rule of Heaven, and managing the concerns of the people; therefore those sovereigns that erred in the use of ceremonies soon perished, while those who succeeded in maintaining proper rites perpetuated their rule. The ode says, 'We see that the little mice have bodies, but men are without ceremonies; when men are without ceremonies, how soon they hasten to ruin!' Therefore rites and ceremonies must regard Heaven as the origin, must be observed in imitation of the inequalities of the earth's surface, and must be arranged according to the contractings or expandings of the Kweì Shîns, thus they will be carried out in the business of funerals and sacrifices, in archery, horsemanship, the celebration of manhood, the contraction of nuptials, the giving audience to the princes, and the presenting of credentials to the sovereign; in the arrangement of all these the sages have directed certain ceremonies to be used, and the whole empire with the various states may thus be correctly regulated.

The Commentator says, that in the use of rites, regarding Heaven as the origin, refers to the economy of the 天理 celestial principle of order; the imitation of the inequalities of the earth's surface, refers to the elevation or depression of the various hills and marshes, which called for higher or lower ceremonies being observed in sacrificing to their presiding genii; their being arranged according to the contractings or expandings of the Kwei Shîns, refers to the five kinds of ceremonies used in serving invisible beings, the greatest of which is sacrifice; archery, horsemanship, &c. are the eight circumstances in human life where ceremonies are needed.

The critical commentator says, that the being arranged according to the Kweì Shîns, refers to the contractings or expandings, approachings or recedings, displayings and expandings, with the majestic sternness and regular order, of the Kwei Shîn. Heaven, he adds, is far distant, therefore the sage speaks of its being viewed as the origin; earth is near, therefore he talks of our imitating it; the wise

kings, having taken their pattern from heaven and earth, together with the Kweì Shîns, in arranging their ceremonies and instructing the people, proceeded to sacrifice to heaven and earth, to present offerings in the ancestorial temple, and towards the principal hills and rivers ; on the one hand, to reward the merit of those for whom sacrifices were instituted, and on the other, to instruct the people in the duty of venerating their superiors.

It appears from the whole of the above quotations, that the Kweì Shîns in the text refer to those elastic powers of nature, which produce changes and transformations, and to which the Chinese are in the habit of offering sacrifices.

On the 47th page, Confucius goes on to observe : "In the early institution of ceremonies, men first offered meat and drink, which consisted of roasted corn and broiled meat (for a sacrifice), while they scooped water out of the puddles with the hollow of their hand (for a libation) and struck an earthen drum with a cockery-ware stick ; (whilst using these simple rites) still they seemed able to carry out their feelings of respect towards the Kweì Shîns."

The Kweì Shîns here spoken of are invisible beings in general, who accept of sacrifices according to the virtue of the worshippers, and not according to the fragancy of the offerings.

The next sentence says,

"When people die, the survivors go up to the house-top (whither the 魂氣 spirit mounts aloft,) and call out saying, Oh you! such a one, come back (to the body you have left). (But if that prove unavailing,) they offer the unboiled rice and raw flesh (of high antiquity), or the boiled dumplings (of latter ages) (to the manes of the departed) : thus they look towards heaven (whither the spirit is gone), and store up in the earth (the corpse of the deceased). They do this because they suppose the body and the grosser parts of the animal soul descend (to earth), while the 知氣 intelligent spirit mounts aloft. Thus also they dispose the dead, with their heads towards the north, while the living face the south ; all these ceremonies are according to the original institution."

The critical commentator, in his account of this matter, says, that the body must have some place to rest on, and the grosser part of the

animal spirits must have some place of shelter, for both of these are heavy and muddy, and belong to the female priniple of nature ; therefore they descend and remain below. But 知 knowledge is all-pervading, and the 氣 spirit is in no case divested of knowledge ; both these are light and pure, and belong to the male principle of nature, therefore they ascend and mount aloft.

This is the most distinct reference to the 知氣 intelligent soul, which we have in the Chinese classics ; which they say is 感動而常在 capable of being moved, and is always existing ; and yet in speaking of it, the Chinese cannot divest themselves of their notions of materialism, but must talk of its lightness and purity, which enables it to float upwards, as lighter bodies ascend, while the grosser ones sink down. The practice of going to the house-top and calling out to the spirits of the departed to come back, is continued to the present day, as the writer has frequently witnessed in the neighbourhood of his own dwelling at Shanghae.

Confucius goes on to say, " In former times, the ancient kings had no houses to live in ; but in the winter they dwelt in caves , and in the summer in nests ; they were also ignorant of the use of fire, and ate the fruit of shrubs and trees, with the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking the blood, and eating the feathers along with it ; they were also unacquainted with hemp and flax, but clothed themelves in feathers and skins.

" Subsequently the sages arose, and then men understood the advantages of fire ; after which they began to mould metals, and make earthenware ; they also made terraces, and cause-ways, houses and buildings, doors and windows ; they likewise cooked dumplings and steaks, with boiled and roasted meats ; they proceeded to make wine and vinegar, and worked up the flax and hemp into cloths and fabrics, in order to nourish the living, and accompany the dead, as well as to serve the Kweì Shîns, and the Supreme Ruler ; in all this, the operations now practised are in imitation of the example of antiquity."

In the above sentence, the Kweì Shîns spoken of refer to invisible beings in general, but more particularly

to the manes of ancestors, and the spirits presiding over hills and rivers. One peculiarity is observable in the above quotation, viz. that of putting the Kweì Shîns before the Supreme Ruler, which was probably done in order to distinguish the one from the other, and to prevent the reader from imagining that the Kweì Shîns belonged to the Sháng té, which mistake might have occurred, had the words been differently arranged.

"Then they had black wine (or water) in the centre of their houses; they had also must and fermenting liquor, near the doorway; they had red wine in the outer hall, and clear wine in an inferior place; they then arranged their sacrificial victims, and prepared their tripods and trenches, they put in order their harps and guitars, and musical stones, together with their bells and drums. They then recited their supplications and pronounced their blessings, in order to bring down the 上神 Shîns of the upper world, together with the manes of their first ancestors, to correct the position of prince and ministers, to render intense the feeling between parents and children, to harmonise elder and younger brethren, to arrange the upper and lower classes, and bring husbands and wives to their proper positions; this was the way in which they connected and perpetuated the blessings of Heaven."

The Shîns of the upper world, mentioned in the text, are the 天神 celestial Shîns spoken of elsewhere.

In the same book, on the 53rd page, we read,

"On this account ceremonies constitute the great handle held by the sovereign; these are the means whereby to distinguish what is doubtful, and to illustrate what is abstruse; they are the means also of entertaining the Kweì Shîns, of examining into regulations, and of determining the nature of benevolence and righteousness; in short, the means whereby to manage government and give ease to the sovereign."

The paraphrase here says, That the Kweì Shîns inhabit the invisible world, and are with difficulty discovered, but by the use of the proper ceremonies we hold intercourse with them. The entertaining

above mentioned, refers to the entertaining of the Kweì Shîns, as we would guests. They are therefore the manes and spirits all along referred to.

On the 54th page, of the same book, we read,

"Hence it is that the sages co-operate with heaven and earth, and stand together with the Kweì Shîns, in order to regulate the government; they notice the places where each severally rests, and thus form the arrangement of rites and ceremonies; they muse on that in which each one delights, and settle the government of the people."

The commentator says, That this paragraph speaks of the sages co-operating with and aiding the ways of heaven and earth, as well as fixing and conjoining with the business of the Kweì Shîns: all with reference to the affairs of government. Hence they mark the places where heaven and earth, as well as the Kweì Shîns severally rest, and finding that heaven is on high, and earth beneath, while all things are scattered about, the sages take their pattern from these, and arrange the order of ceremonies. They also muse on those things in which heaven and earth, together with the Kweì Shîns take delight, and finding that these all move about without cessation, while they unite and bring about various transformations, the sages take their pattern from them, and appoint the government of the people.

In the above extract, the Kweì Shîns refer to invisible beings in general, or the contracting and expanding energies of nature, which bring about the various changes and transformations observable around us.

On the 59th page of the same book, we read,

"Thus it is, that when the sages arose, they insisted on taking heaven and earth for the 本 root of all things, they also looked on the male and female principle of nature, as the 端 commencement of the series; they considered the four seasons as the 柄 handle of government, the sun and fixed stars as the 紀 record of labours, the moon as the 量 measure of work, the Kweì Shîns as the 徒 associates to which government was to be complied, the five elements as the 質 ground-work of things, ceremony and righteousness as the 器 instruments employed, human feelings as the 田 field to be cultivated, and the four chief living creatures as the 畜 domestic animals to be reared. Considering heaven and earth as the main root, business and

things could be set in motion ; taking the male and female principle of nature to be the commencement, then good and evil matters could be ascertained ; looking upon the four seasons as the handle, the people might be exhorted to set to work ; viewing the sun and the fixed stars as the record, then agricultural affairs could be arranged ; taking the moon as the measure, then all kinds of work could be as regular as planting ; assuming the Kweì Shîns to be associates (to which governments should be conformed,) then undertakings could be long maintained ; taking the five elements to be the ground-work, then matters could be repeatedly attended to ; taking ceremonies and righteousness to be the implements, then undertakings could be completed ; taking human feelings to be the field, then men could become settled ; considering the four principle living creatures to be domestic animals, then food and drink would have some place from whence they proceeded."

The commentator, with regard to the Kweì Shîns, says, The word "associates," in the text, refers to associates complying with one another ; the ceremonies observed at the sacrifices to the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, the manes of ancestors, and the genii of hills and rivers, with the lares of the five parts of private dwellings, all correspond with the business of government, like the imitation of the inequalities of the earth's surface spoken in a former paragraph : when governments are thus conducted, then all matters may be carried on for a long time without failing.

It is not necessary to proceed further with this curious, and somewhat intricate paragraph ; all we want to ascertain is, what is meant by the Kweì Shîns being associates. 徒 The character employed originally means disciples or followers, but it is explained by the commentator to mean persons who associate or comply one with another ; and is applied to the Kweì Shîns, because the sacrifices offered to them are in accordance with the business of government, or rather the economy supposed to exist among invisible beings is similar to that which obtains in human governments, and when the affairs of government are conducted with that idea in view, all undertakings may be perpetuated.

On the 61st page of the same book we read,

"The ancient kings were apprehensive lest ceremo-

nies should not extend their influence to those below, hence they sacrificed to 帝 the Ruling Power, at the border of the country, in order to point out the fixedness of the throne of Heaven; they sacrificed to the 社 *lares rustici* within the country, in order to shew the arrangement of terrestrial advantages; they performed services in the ancestorial temple, in order to shew where benevolence originated; they honoured the hills and rivers, in order to treat the Kweì Shîns as guests; and served the genii presiding over the various parts of the house, in order to set forth that business was the main thing."

The commentator says, That the emperor carried out the ceremonies employed for honouring heaven, and then the people knew how to use such ceremonies as exalt the sovereign; hence it is said, that such services shew the fixedness of the throne of heaven. Additions to the supply of food and wealth all come out of the earth, therefore the emperor personally sacrificed to empress earth, in order to display the advantages derived therefrom, and teach the people how to manifest gratitude to the source of blessings. Serving one's parents is the essence of benevolence; and the sovereign served the representative of the dead with filial respect, in order to diffuse the principles of benevolence and righteousness among those beneath him. To treat as guests the Kweì Shîns, and sacrifice to the hills and rivers, to set forth the importance of business, and sacrifice to the *lares domestici*, these services were all performed with the view of diffusing the doctrines of rites and ceremonies.

In the above passage we have 帝 the Ruling Power used for the Supreme, and honoured with the highest kind of sacrifice, while the Kweì Shîns referred to are merely the genii of hills and rivers, who are treated as guests by their votaries. The next sentence goes on to say,

"Hence it is, that when ceremonies are employed in offering the border sacrifice (to the Ruling Power), then the hundred Shîns receive their appointments; when ceremonies are used in sacrificing to the *lares rustici*, then the different sources of wealth may be carried out to the utmost; when ceremonies are observed in the ancestorial temple, then filial and kind feelings are rendered subservient; and when ceremonies are employed towards the *lares domestici*, then the regulations of the family are adjusted."

The commentator says, that this connects the idea of the former paragraph, which speaks of sacrifices being offered to the Ruling Power, at the border of the country, &c. The hundred Shîns receiving their appointments, means that they have to regulate winds and rain, and suit the seasons of cold and heat, and to attend to these duties without committing any fault, or exposing themselves to reprehension.

Thus it appears, that according to Chinese ideas, the Shîns receive their appointments from the Ruling Power, and have to attend to the business of meteorogical arrangements, in doing which, if they do not manage properly, they will be considered faulty, and exposed to blame. On this account it was, that the people of the Loo country exposed their idols to the scorching rays of the sun, during a drought, that they might experience some inconvenience on account of their mismanagement; a practice which is continued to the present day.

Then follows a remarkable passage:

"Thus it is that ceremonies must date their origin from the 太一 Supreme One; he dividing, constituted heaven and earth; revolving, he produced light and darkness; changing, he brought about the four seasons; and arranging, he appointed the Kweì Shîns. Those things which they (the sages) have handed down (on this subject) are called their commands, and they have laid main stress on (deriving their pattern from) Heaven.

The commentator says, That which is infinitely great is called 太 Supreme; and that which is undivided is called One; this is the principle of the 太極 Great Extreme, which including three, consists of one. Dividing he constituted heaven and earth, and then appeared the gradations of high and low, noble and mean; revolving he produced light and darkness, and then resulted the circumstances of felicity and infelicity, rewards and punishments; changing he brought about the four seasons, and thence arose the difference of length and shortness in years and moons; arranging he appointed the Kwei Shîns, and thence proceeded the duties of acknowledging the source of our blessings, and of reverting to our original. The sages, in arranging rites and ceremonies, always laid their foundation in this scheme of things, in order to send down their commands, and in so doing considered it of importance to take their pattern from Heaven. The word 官 kwan here is synonimous with 主 choo, to consider of main importance.

The critical commentary on this passage says, That the first sentence

of the above paragraph contains a general intimation, the next four sentences all refer to the Supreme One, while the last sentence points to the one word Heaven, intending to include heaven and earth, light and darkness, the four seasons, and the Kweì Shîns in that one term. When the sages regulated ceremonies, their appointments were also called 命 commands, because they were thus settled once for all, not to be changed afterwards; as when Heaven decrees to bestow on each one of us our portion. When a thing is separated to several stations, the one above and the other below, it is said to be divided. When motion and rest are alternately produced, it is called revolving. When things disperse and concrete irregularly, they are said to be changed; and when things contrast and expand in divers manners, they are said to be arranged. The two "*theys*," in the text, refer to the sages.

The critical commentary goes on to say, when we speak of the commencement of visible things, we denominate it the 太始 first beginning; and when we speak of the commencement of numbers, we denominate it 太一 the Supreme One. This Supreme One is the source of all the other four: (viz. heaven and earth, light and darkness, the four seasons, and the Kweì Shîns). Before the three powers of nature (heaven earth and men) were divided, and before the myriad of things were produced, there existed this One alone: and the origin of all rites and ceremonies is really to be dated from this One. When the Supreme One divided, that which was above constituted heaven, and that which was beneath earth, and thus high and low were settled. When he revolved, stillness constituted the darkness and motion the light, thus the exhilirated and distressful feelings were distinguished. Changing, he brought about the four seasons, then appeared the wonderfulness of their interchanging and moving on; and arranging, he appointed the Kweì Shîns, when the work of their producing and perfecting were displayed. Thus wonderful was the Supreme One. The sages exhausted that which was inscrutable, and understood transformations, meditating and comprehending all in their own minds; and from this appointed rites and ceremonies and handing them down to the people, their words were called commands. In requiring these ceremonies to be honourable or mean, ex-

alted or inferior, they took the altitude and depression of heaven and earth as their pattern; in fixing these ceremonies to refer to lucky or unlucky events, rewards or punishments, they took their pattern from the exhilaration or distress produced by light and darkness; in settling the services to be performed an occasion of the years or moons being long or short, they took their pattern from the changes of the four seasons; and in appointing those rites which acknowledged the sources of our blessings, or reverted to our original, they took their pattern from the arrangements of the Kweì Shîns; in all this, there was not one ceremony that did not date its origin from the spontaneousness of the Supreme One, hence it is said, that the sages took their pattern from Heaven.

We have been thus particular in giving all the comments and explanations that could be brought to bear on the above extract, because we think it one of great importance. The object the writer had in view was to shew, that all the ceremonies appointed by the sages had reference to the Supreme One, and took his operations for their pattern. Thus as the Supreme One constituted heaven above and earth beneath, so rites and observances were to be of a higher or a lower order, according to the object worshipped; and as the darkness and light, which revolved by his appointment, sometimes produced exhilirated, and at other times mournful feelings, so the ceremonies appointed by the sages, had respect to lucky or unlucky events, and to the rewards or punishment experienced. Further, as the four seasons changed at his bidding, so the ceremonies appointed by the sages had reference to the early or late arrival of the revolving feasts; and as the Kweì Shîns were parcelled out and appointed to various offices at his command, so the sages appointed the ceremonies of acknowledging the blessings caused by the operations of the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, and the services intended for recalling to mind our original ancestors. But what we wish particularly to notice here is, the striking reference to the Supreme One,

made in the above quotation, marking at once the unity and supremacy of the Deity. We have rendered the word 太 Supreme, because the commentator says, that that which is 極大 infinitely great, is called 太 Supreme: while that which is undivided, is called 一 one; thus the 太一 must mean the Supreme One, or the infinitely great and undivided One. Bearing in mind also, that this paragraph follows another, in which 帝 the Ruling Power is honoured with the highest adoration, and that this Ruling Power is the same with the Being here called the Supreme One, there can be no doubt that the reference in the whole passage, is to the Almighty One who rules over all things. The critical commentary makes this still more plain, by saying that this Supreme One is the source of all others, and that he existed before the powers of nature were divided, and before the myriad of things were produced, the one only being. The operations ascribed to him of dividing heaven and earth, of revolving light and darkness, of changing the four seasons, and of appointing the various Kweì Shîns to their several offices, are all indicative of that Omnipotent Power, which must be ascribed to him alone. How the Chinese came by these ideas, or how they have allowed them to become obscured by the admixture of erroneous notions, we do not now stop to enquire; the one may be sufficiently accounted for by referring their early notions to the traditionary knowledge derived from the sons of Noah; and the other to the corrupt affections of the human heart, which led them in the lapse of ages to wander away from the truth, as we know other nations of antiquity have done. The reference in the commentary to the 太極 Great extreme, which 函三爲一 including three consists of only one, seems to bear some allusion to the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which may have been derived by tradition from the patriarchal age. And no doubt the expressions employed may be very profitably applied by Christian writers to that glorious and wonderful topic. But as we are unwilling to

ascribe to the Chinese more than what they give themselves credit for, we would rather suppose that by this phrase "including three, and yet consisting of one," they mean to allude to their own ideas of cosmogony, which considers 三才 the powers of nature to be three, namely 天地人 heaven, earth, and man; but that in the beginning, these three may be traced up to 太一 the Supreme One. Upon the whole, we have no little reason to rejoice that the Divine Being has not left himself without witness in this dark land, while we lament over the obscurity with which human philosophy has contrived to darken the glimmerings of truth here and there presenting themselves. With regard to the Kweì Shîns, alluded to in the above extract, we cannot help seeing, that they occupy a very inferior place in the theory of our author. The text speaks of them as arranged, by which is meant their being parcelled out into higher and lower, near and distant; while the commentary talks of the rites, which are performed before them, being enacted with a view to acknowledge the sources of our blessings, and to revert to our original. All this has reference to the Chinese ideas of the Kweì Shîns, so often set forth in these pages, as consisting of celestial Shîns and terrestrial K'hés, (who by causing things to grow, are the sources of blessings,) or as representing the manes of our more immediate ancestors, who as bringing us into the world, may be considered our original; to these may be added the outside genii, presiding over hills and rivers, who are honoured by those in office. But in all of these cases, both the Kweì and the Shîns are represented as being appointed by the Supreme Power, and used by him in bringing out the various effects supposed to result from their agency. The paraphrase speaks of the works of production and completion as resulting from the arrangement of the Kweì Shîns, from which we are to understand that the Kweì Shîns are employed by nature in producing and transforming things, which work is brought about by the contractings and expandings ascribed to these invisible beings.

On the 63d page of the same book, ceremonies are spoken of as the great matters employed in nourishing the living and accompanying the dead, as well as in serving the Kweì Shîns; by which is meant that rites are serviceable in the visible world, to testify our regard to the living, and in the invisible world, to manifest our respect towards the dead, as well as to those spiritual beings to whom it is customary to offer sacrifice. The same idea is presented on the 66th page.

In the 5th section of the Book of Rites, and the first page, we are told that " when the good man makes a proper use of ceremonies, those without will be harmonized, and those within will be contented, thus men will universally experience his benevolence, and the Kweì Shîns will enjoy his virtue." In which sentence the Kweì Shîns refer to invisible beings in general, who are supposed to enjoy the sacrifices which are offered to them.

On the next page, we read that " rites and ceremonies should be suited to the celestial seasons, appointed according to terrestrial advantages, compliant with the Kweì Shîns, agreeable to human feelings, and according to the principles of all things; then the celestial seasons will be productive, terrestrial arrangements will be suitable, human officers will be capable, and the peculiarities of things will be profitable. Thus it is that when heaven does not produce, and earth does not nourish, the good man considers the rites offered not to be according to propriety, and that therfore the Kweì Shîns will not enjoy them. In worshipping hills to present fishes or tortoises, or in honouring marshes to offer stags or pigs, the good man would consider as indicating an ignorance of propriety".

The Kweì Shîns above, are those which are the objects of sacrifice, but the sacrifices offered must be agreeable to their rank and position, according to the proper season of the year, and the nature of the soil, or they will not be accepted and enjoyed.

On the 5th page of the same section, we read, " that in sacrificing to the Kweì Shîns, a single mat should be employed."

The commentator says, that the Kweì Shîns are different from

men, and therefore it is not necessary to use double mats, or to make them soft and warm. It is on the same principle, perhaps, that the modern Chinese, in worshipping their idols, fill up the basins and dishes with paper, and merely sprinkle a little fruit and vegetables on the top, because it is not necessary to glut them with too much substantial food.

On the 29th page of the same section, we read,

"When the villagers were exorcising demons, Confucius put on his court-dress, and stood at the stairs (of the ancestorial temple), that he might retain the Shîns in the inner apartments (of the building.")

The commentator, says, that this was done lest the Shîns should be alarmed, but that seeing him thus attired they might rely on him, and feel contented to remain. According to the usual rites, a great officer was to put on a court dress in order to sacrifice, therefore he wore a court dress to pacify the Shîns (and make them think that he was come to sacrifice )

It is evident that the Shîns above spoken of are those worshipped in the ancestorial temple, and therefore the manes of ancestors.

On the 31st page, we read that

"The offerings to the 社 *lares rustici* were presented, with the view of honouring the earth as a 神 Shîn.

Here the word Shîn is employed as a verb, as if it were said to Shîn the earth, or to honour the earth with the services generally paid to the Shîns.

On the 37th page, we read that "the offerings in the sacrificial vessels are the productions of the water and land ; for such purposes the offerers do not dare to use common and tasteless things, while they consider it of importance to have a variety of viands, in order to carry out the idea of holding intercourse with 神 明 invisible and intelligent beings."

The commentator tells us, that the invisible beings here referred to, are such as are worshipped in the ancestorial temple, and consequently the manes of royal predecessors, who were to be thus treated with a variety of tastes. In the same, and in the following paragraph, the same words occur, with the same meaning attached to them.

On the 41st page of the same section, treating on the subject of marriage, we read :

"A black crown, with fasting and watching, is the way to serve the Kweì Shîns, as well as the male and female principle of nature. The same is the case also (with regard to marriages which are contracted) with the view of obtaining some one to perpetuate the 社 稷

the *lares rustici*, and principally respect obtaining successors for our ancestors ; can they therefore be conducted without reverence ? "

The commentator says, that the Kweì are the spiritual or vital parts of the female principle, and the Shîns the spiritual or vital parts of male principle of nature. Hence the association of these terms together. The ceremonies of marriage, he adds, are conducted with the view of getting posterity, to preside at the sacrifices to the lares of the family, and of carrying on the services of the ancestorial temple ; with reference to sacrifices to ancestors, therefore, reverence cannot be dispensed with in their performance.

The paraphrase says, that the Kweì Shîn, and the male and female principle of nature, here refer to the lares of the family, and the manes of ancestors.

On the 46th page of the same section we read ;

" Whether you offer in sacrifice the whole or the divided carcase of the victim, and whether you present the flesh parboiled or thoroughly done, how can you conceive that the Shîns enjoy the offering ? it is only presented with the view of carrying out the respectful feelings of the worshipper to the utmost. He lifts up the cup or vase, to inform or tranquillize the 尸 person representing the corpse of the dead. Among the ancients, when no particular business called for his attention, this representative of the corpse stood ; but when there was anything to do, (such as eating or drinking) he sat down. This representative of the corpse was looked upon as the 神像 image of the Shîn, while 祝 the offerer of prayer was 將命 the medium of communication (between the Shîns and the worshippers.)"

The commentator says, that when the representative of the corpse first approached the table, and when the cup or vase was lifted up, the offerer of prayer directed the superintendent of the sacrifice to make obeisance to the representative, in order to tranquillize him, and get him to sit down. This representative was considered as the image of the person sacrificed to, hence he was called the image of the Shîn ; while the offerer of prayer first took the worshipper's expressions and announced them to the Shîn, and afterwards took the utterance of the Shîn (or of this person supposed to be the image of the same) and blessed the worshipper : hence he was called the medium of communication.

The representative of the corpse, mentioned in the above extract, was generally the descendant of the person sacrificed to, who was supposed to possess a por-

tion of the 氣 energies of his progenitor, and, wearing the clothes of the deceased, was placed in the chair appointed for him, and sacrificed to as if he were the forefather himself. This representative partook of the viands offered, heard the prayers addressed, and directed such answers to be delivered as he thought proper, which were supposed to come from the deceased ancestor. Hence he was called 神 像 the image of the Shîn. Other images it does not appear that the Chinese at that time made use of, except the 俑 straw or wooden followers to the grave, which were interred or burned at the tomb, to serve as attendants to the dead in the other world. It must be evident, however, from all this, that the word Shîn, in the above extract, refers only to the manes of ancestors.

In the 7th section of the Book of Rites, treating on music, we have various references to the subject under discussion.

On the 10th page, the writer speaks of ceremony and music, that "when the one is played up on the instruments made of gold and gems, or vibrates in beautiful sounds, and the other is used in the ancestorial temple, or before the *lares rustici*, and employed in the service of the genii of the hills and rivers, or of the (Kweì Shîn,) they are all what the people in common may understand and appreciate."

In the above extract the Kweì Shîn, being mentioned separately from the ancestorial temple or the altars of the lares, as well as distinguished from the genii of hills and rivers, must mean the expanders and contracters of nature who are the objects of sacrifice.

On the 12th page of the same section, we read, that, "Music is intended for the promotion of harmony, thus it leads forth the Shîns, and follows the pattern of heaven; ceremonies are meant for distinguishing that which is suitable, thus they settle the Kweì, and follow the example of earth: therefore the sages invented music to correspond with heaven, while they appointed ceremonies to associate with earth: ceremo-

nies and music being thus clear and perfect, heaven and earth performed their various offices."

The commentator says, that to promote harmony is to give weight to that in which energies assimilate; to distinguish the suitable, is to separate that in which things are dissimilar. To lead forth the Shîns, is to follow out the expandings of their 氣 energies; to settle the Kweì, is to collect the contractions of the said energies. Expansion is the male principle of nature, and complies with heaven; contraction the female, and follows earth. From this it would appear, that the excellence of the ceremonies and music established by the sages consists in their invention and regulation; when these are clear and perfect, they may be ascertained and known. The performing of offices mentioned in the text, means, that heaven produces things, and earth completes them, each one according to its peculiar office.

The paraphrase says, that the Shîns belong to the male principle of nature, and heaven is that in which the male principle accumulates; music also comes from the male principle of nature (or originates with the visible world) therefore it leads forth the Shîns, and complies with heaven. The Kweìs belong to the female principle of nature, and the earth is that in which the female principle concentrates; ceremonies also are invented on account of the female principle of nature, (or are appointed for the sake of invisible beings) therefore they settle the Kweis, and accord with earth. To lead, means to draw out and ascend, to settle, means to bend down and complete; heaven and earth have their spontaneous ceremonies and music, while the sages co-operate with the suitabilities of heaven and earth; thus they invented music to correspond with heaven, and appointed ceremonies to associate with earth; from hence ceremonies and music were clear and perfect, and heaven and earth severally suited their stations.

By the Kweì Shîns, in the above extract, are evidently intended the expanding and contracting energies of nature, or the invisible beings who are supposed to superintend those elastic qualities of the universe. Music is supposed to have a rousing effect, in calling forth and stirring the energies of the Shîn, while ceremonies have a sedative tendency, in pacifying and settling the disturbance of the Kweì. The sages bring these two to perfection, and thus co-operate with heaven and earth.

On the 14th page of the same section, we read,

"When we carry out ceremonies and music to the utmost, they extend their influence to the very height of heaven, they recoil in their effect down to the earth, they move the male and female principles of nature, and pervade the Kweì Shîns."

The commentator says, that music proceeds from spontaneous harmony, and ceremonies come from the natural arrangement of things.

The paraphrase says, when ceremonies and music induce heaven to send down its fattening dews, this is carrying their influence up to heaven ; when they cause earth to bubble up its sweet springs, this is recoiling in their effects towards the earth ; when they bring about that the days and months, years and seasons, are regular, so that the various kinds of grain come to perfection, this is their moving the male and female principle of nature ; and when they are used in sacrificing to the Kweî Shîns, while the hundred Shîns approach, this is their pervading of the Kwei Shîns.

The Kweì Shîns here alluded to are those contracting and expanding energies of nature which are the objects of sacrifice.

On the 22d page of the same book, after speaking of the excellent effects of music, the writer says, "When feeling is deep, the elegant expression of it will be clear ; as when the energies of nature are full, and their transformations 神 mysterious, so harmony will be collected within, and ornament displayed without. Thus it is that music cannot admit of hypocrisy."

The commentator says, that 神 Shîn, in the above passage, means mysterious and unfathomable.

On the 25th page, the writer speaks of music, as "carrying out the virtues of 神 明 invisible and intelligible beings, and of its bringing down or elevating the superior or inferior Shîns." By which are meant the celestial Shîns, and terrestrial K'hés, who are supposed to be influenced by ceremonies and music, at the time of sacrifice.

On the 36th page we read,

"The good man has said, that ceremonies and music must not for a moment be separated from one's-self. Carrying out music, in order to regulate the mind, then the arranging and rectifying of the feeling of kindness and consideration abundantly springs up ; when the arranging and rectifying of kind and considerate feeling springs up, then delight ensues ; from delight springs tranquillity, tranquillity grows up into lengthened continuance, lengthened continuance brings about 天 the natural order of things, and nature produces that

which is 神 mysterious. When the feeling is natural, then without speaking it induces belief, and when mysterious, then without wrath the mind is roused. This is the effect of carrying out music, for the purpose of regulating the mind."

Here the commentator says, that Shîn means mysterious and unfathomable.

In the 8th section, and 29th page of the Book of Rites, we read,

"They buried the small ox at the T'hae-chaou altar, in order to sacrifice to the four seasons; they went to meet and escort (the changes of the weather) at the hollowed out and raised altars, in order to sacrifice to cold and heat; in the royal palace, they sacrificed to the sun; on clear nights, they sacrificed to the moon; on dark evenings, they sacrificed to the stars; and with invocations, they sacrificed to droughts and inundations; while at the four hollowed out and elevated altars they sacrificed to the four quarters. Those which presided over hills, forests, rivers, vallies, mounds, and hillocks, that could produce clouds, wind, and rain, with diverse strange appearances, were all called Shîns. The ruler of the empire sacrificed to the hundred Shîns; the princes of the empire, also, as long as they possessed their various states, sacrificed to them, but when they lost their states, they did not sacrifice to them."

From the above, it is evident, that the Shîns referred to were the genii of the hills and rivers, who were supposed to have influence over the wind and rain.

On the 39th page of the same section, the writer, having described the preparation of all things necessary for the sacrifice to ancestors, says, "that then follows the announcement of the feelings of those engaged, who display extreme anxiety in their intercourse with 神明 invisible and intelligent beings, hoping that they may perhaps accept of the offering: that they may indeed accept of them, is the fervent wish of the filial child."

From the nature of the sacrifice here presented, and from the men-

tion of the worshipper under the title of a filial child, it is evident that the invisible and intelligent beings here mentioned, refer to the manes of ancestors.

On the 44th page of the same section, we read,

"The ceremonies used throughout the whole empire, are those which carry out our feelings of gratitude towards the cause of our existence, and of reverence to the Kweì Shîns; those which respect the promotion of harmony and wealth, those also which have reference to the establishment of righteousness and concession. The carrying out of gratitude towards the cause of our existence, is in order to shew our abundant regard for our origin: the carrying out of reverence towards the Kweì Shîns, is in order to testify our honour for those above; the promotion of useful articles, is in order to establish the arrangements of the people; the establishment of righteousness, is in order to prevent superiors and inferiors from opposition and rebellion; the inducement of concession, is in order to do away with wrangling. Let these five be united, in order to constitute the ceremonies for regulating the empire, and although strange and perverse people should spring up, the instances of failure in the regulation of the empire will be rare."

The paraphrase says, that the requiting of heaven and the honouring of ancestors, is the carrying out of gratitude towards the causes of our existence; the being pure within, and properly apparelled without, is the way to testify onr reverence towards the Kweì Shîns."

The next sentence is much to the purpose, as it regards the present question. "Tsae-gnò said, I have heard of the names of the Kweì Shîns, but I do not know what they mean? To which Confucius replied, The 氣 k'hé, or finer part of the human spirit, is the fulness of the Shîn, and the 魄 pïh, or grosser part of the human constitution, is the fulness of the Kweì; to unite the Kweì with the Shîn, is the excellence of the true doctrine."

The commentary on this passage, is nearly similar to that on the celebrated chapter regarding the Kweì Shîn, in the Happy Medium, which has already been considered. To this may be added the remarks of Fang-she, who says, that the 魂 more elevated part of the

animal soul, and the 氣 finer parts of the human spirit, return to heaven ; while the 形 bodily form, and 魄 the grosser parts of the human constitution, revert to earth ; therefore it is necessary to unite the Kweì with the Shîn, in order to constitute the excellence of the true doctrine.

The paraphrase says, that which enables men to move and act, is the 氣 spiritual part of their nature ; the form and substance of the human body constitute the 魄 grosser parts of man. At death, the 靈 more intelligent part of the 氣 spirit becomes the Shîn, while the 靈 more subtile part of the 魄 gross substance becomes the Kweì ; thus it is, that the 氣 finer spirit is the fulness of the Shîn, and the 魄 grosser constitution the fulness of the Kweì While people are alive, however, the 氣 finer spirit and the 魄 grosser constitution are united : at death the finer spirit of the man ascends, while the grosser part of human nature descends, and thus, they are separated. The sage, however, joins the Kweì with the Shîn, as before, in order to establish his doctrine ; thus his instructions do not fall into emptiness and nonentity, but his ideas and intentions are shewn to be deep and distant. The words finer spirit and grosser form are used with respect to men as living ; while the terms Kweì and Shîn are employed with especial reference to them when dead. This is taking the finer spirit and grosser substance of men when alive, to illustrate the Kweì Shîns, which are sacrificed to after death.

The critical commentary says, The Shîns are formed of the male or light principle of nature, the Kweìs of the female or dark principle. When the sage speaks of the finer spirit, then we may know that the grosser substance constitutes the 形 outward form ; and when he speaks of the grosser part of nature, then we may know that the finer part constitutes the 魂 more elevated animal soul. This elevated part of the animal soul is also the Shîn ; but this only refers to the finer spirit, because the spirit is the foundation of the finer part of the animal soul ; but this 魂 soul is not the fulness of the 氣 finer spirit. The outward form is also the Kweì, but this only refers to the grosser part of human nature, because the outward form is the foundation of the grosser part of the animal soul, but this outward form is not the fulness of the Kweì. The sage lays stress on the fulness (of the one or the other,) and therefore only speaks of the finer spirit and of the grosser part of the human constitution. The finer spirit ascends only, and the grosser part of human nature descends only : but the sage can search out and unite these two, in order to instruct the world; therefore it is said that such instructions constitute the summit of right doctrine.

From the above it is evident, that Confucius considered both the Kweì and the Shîn to originate with human beings ; and, as far as human Kweìs and Shîns are con-

cerned, not to have any existence until after men are dead; then the more gross parts of the animal soul constitute the Kweì, which descends to earth, contracts, shrivels up, and finally reverts to nothing; while the finer parts of the human spirit constitute the Shîn, which ascends towards heaven, expands, wanders about, and is capable of being influenced by the sacrifices of descendants (who possess the same 氣 spirit or energy,) and comes down to enjoy sacrifices and confer blessings. An inconsistency, however, is apparent in this scheme, viz. the uniting of the finer and grosser parts of the human constitution, which at death are said to be separated, into the Kweì Shîn, which is the object of worship; but the Chinese, instead of perceiving this inconsistency, admire it as the excellence of the true doctrine.

"All living men must die, and at death return to earth, this is what is called the Kweì; the bones, and flesh decay under ground, and thus covered up become common earth; while the 氣 finer part of their spiritual nature is diffused and expanded aloft, and becoming brightly illumined ascends like a fragrant vapour, or produces a mournful feeling, these are the substile essences of animals, and the displays of the Shîn.

Among the commentators, Choo-foo-tszè says, that when the Kweì Shîns as it were display a flash of light, this is their being brightly illumined; that when their 氣 finer spirit mounts upwards, this is their ascending like a fragrant vapour; and that when they cause men's animal spirits to be agitated with fear, this is their producing a painful and mournful feeling. The same commentator also says, their being illumined signifies their bright shining; their ascending like a vapour means their being collected together in a cloud; their producing a mournful feeling refers to the feeling of awe which they inspire. He further observes, that this illumination is a sort of brightness, or halo of glory; the fragrant ascending as of a vapour refers to their 氣 finer spirit affecting men's senses; and the mournful feeling produced by them conveys the same idea with that expression in the books of Han, about the mysterious prince approaching and his influence being awe-inspiring. He remarks again, that the fragrant ascending as of vapour spoken of, is the Kweì Shîn, with our animal spirits, mutually influencing each other.

The paraphrase says, that the 氣 energies of human nature must

some time become exhausted, and death is that which men cannot avoid ; at death the 魄 grosser part of the man descends and returns to earth, and therefore is called the Kweì ; that part which reverts to earth is the bones and the flesh, which decay in secret, and become common earth ; but the 氣 finer parts of the spiritual nature diffuse and expand throughout the world, and become either a light that appears occasionally, or a fragrant vapour that sometimes affects men's senses, or else it is something that causes men's spirits to be depressed and mournful ; these are the 精 靈 subtile essences of things, and thus it is, that the actions of the Shîn cannot be concealed.

The critical commentary says, that when men's form and substance are united with their 氣 more spiritual essence, then they live; at death, the outward form and the more spiritual essence separate, the 精 subtile and 靈 refined part of their spiritual essence expands and diffuses, and mounting aloft becomes 神 靈 an invisible and spiritual, 光 明 a bright and intelligent being. The spiritual essence of the various kinds of things (or different animals) whether fragrant or offensive mounts aloft, and sends forth its fumes like a vapour. When men smell this, their feelings are mournful and distressed. In this respect men have something in common with the different animals ; but men exceed in feeling and knowledge, while their spiritual essence diffusing and expanding aloft, becomes very bright and illumined ; this is the display of the Shîns of men, and hence it that the writer merely speaks of the Shîn.

In the above extract, the sage speaks more particularly of the finer and grosser part of the human constitution at death. The one sinks to earth and mixes with other mould, while the other ascending and expanding is sometimes perceptible to human senses, in flashes of light, or fragrant vapours, or its presence is perceived by a certain mournful feeling of which survivors are conscious. These are no doubt the ignis fatuus of swampy land, near which cemeteries are frequently located ; or the effluvia, whether pleasant or otherwise, arising from the tombs ; or some peculiar state of the atmosphere, which produces the depression spoken of. We can easily trace these to natural causes, but the superstitious minds of the Chinese lead them to infer from such appearances or impressions, that the Kweì Shîn are near, and therefore the fit objects of worship. The writer knows a temple built in a lonely spot, simply in consequence of a few passers by having ob-

served the phosphorescent appearance of some decaying fish, that had been thrown out near the spot at night, from which people inferred the presence of the Shîns, and erected the temple accordingly. The Chinese imagine also that there is a sort of subtile essence belonging to the various kinds of animals, though this is inferior to the Shîns of men, in possessing less feeling and knowledge.

The sage goes on to say,

"Observing the subtile essences of things, (the sages) in their regulations honoured them to the utmost, and clearly appointed them to be the Kweì Shîns, that they might be patterns for the black-haired people ; thus all classes would fear them, and the myriads of the people submit to them."

The commentator says, that observing the subtile and spiritual essences of things, that could not be concealed, the sages in their arrangements assigned them a most honourable title, and publicly designated them the Kweì Shîns, that they might be the patterns to the empire ; thus the people knew what they should venerate, and did not dare to be disrespectful ; they knew also what they should submit to, and did not presume to disobey.

The paraphaase says, that this passage speaks of the Kweì Shîns as united, and constitutes the substance of the sage's instruction. They publicly designated the Kweì Shîns, causing people to know their efficaciousness, and that they might be relied on, thus becoming patterns for the people. The critical commentator says, that the Kweì Shîns are the 魂 finer and the 魄 grossser parts of the spiritual nature of men and animals ; but if they were merely called by these names, the appellation would not be sufficiently honourable ; therefore the sages, observing the subtile essences of men and animals after death, designated them in their regulations by the most honourable title, and appointed them to be Kweì Shîns, thus uniting the two kinds of invisible beings. The force of the expression rests very much on this idea of union.

From the above we learn, that Confucius carried out his idea of the finer and grosser parts of man's spiritual nature, which became separated at death, and uniting them again conceived the notion of the Kweì Shîns, or invisible beings, who were the objects of sacrifice and of dread to the people. Hence the worship which is paid to the manes of ancestors, and the custom of depending on departed progenitors. This is, however, very far from considering them the original authors of existence,

or the supreme disposers of affairs, and only represents them as a sort of secondary beings, derived from deceased men and animals, and exhibiting themselves occassionally as meteors or vapours near the graves of the departed.

In the 58th page of the 8th section, we meet with the expression, "above being obedient to the Kweì Shîns, and abroad submissive to princes and superiors," spoken with reference to a filial descendant presenting sacrifices to the manes of his ancestors: so that the meaning in this passage cannot be a matter of doubt.

In the 62d page of the same section, the 尸 representative of the deceased at a sacrifice is said "to eat the leavings of the Kweì Shîns," because after the animals had been slain, their blood and raw flesh was presented to the Kweì Shîns, while the dressed food was presented on sacrificial vessels to the representative of the deceased, who ate it, and was thus said to eat the leavings of the Kweì Shîns. In this passage the simple mention of the representative of the decased, who was generally some lineal descendant, shows that the Kweì Shîns spoken of refer to the manes of ancestors.

On the 64th page we read, "That sacrifices have ten objects, which are apparent in the way in which men serve the Kweì Shîns, in the righteousness exhibited between princes and ministers, in the relations observed between parents and children, in the classification to be maintained amongst noble and mean," and so on to the number of ten.

In the following sentence, the first of these objects is thus explained:

"Spread the mat, and set one and the same table for the Shîns to rest on: let the crier and the chaplain perform their part of the service in the inner apartment, after which they are to go out into the gateway of the temple. This is the way in which to hold intercourse with 神明 invisible beings."

The commentator says, that when people are alive they possess different bodies, therefore in the relations of husband and wife a dis-

tinction of duties is to be observed; but at death their 精氣 subtile essences are not divided, therefore only one table is set for them to lean on. The crier and chaplain are to announce the business in hand to the representative of the dead in the inner apartment, and afterwards to go out to the gateway, and on the next day arrange the sacrifice, on one side of the gateway of the ancestorial temple; because it was not quite certain whether the Shîns were here or there; therefore it is said, this is the way to hold intercourse with invisible beings.

From this reference to the representative of the dead, and the ancestorial temple, it is evident that the Kweì Shîns, or invisible beings, referred to in both passages, are none other than the manes of ancestors.

In the 9th section of the Book of Rites, relating to the private intercourse of Confucius, and on the 9th page, one of his disciples "asked respecting ceremonies, whether they were not calculated to restrain the bad and perfect the good? to which the sage replied, that they were. Again he asked, in what way? when Confucius said, The services performed at the 郊 sacrifice to heaven, and at the 社 sacrifice to earth, are those by which men shew their benevolence towards the Kweì Shîns, (or the invisible beings belonging to heaven and earth.)"

On the 10th page, the writer speaks of "the Kweì Shîns obtaining their proper enjoyment;" which the commentator explains by saying, "that the celestial Shîns all coming down, the terrestrial K'hés all coming out, and the human Kweìs all drawing near, may obtain the proper ceremonies," and enjoy the viands provided for them in sacrifice. Thus the Kweì Shîns in this passage, are the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, or expanders of nature, together with the manes of deceased persons, usually sacrificed to by the Chinese.

On the next page, the writer speaks of the Kweì Shîns missing their accustomed enjoyment, where the idea is the same, only reversed.

On the 19th page of the same book, the writer speaking of the sage says, that,

"Clearnesss and brightness are possessed in his own person, and that his mind and will are like the

Shîns;" which the commentator explains to mean capable of prescience, like the genii of wind and weather; so that the word Shîn is to be taken in the sense of inscrutably intelligent, combined with some prognosticating quality; as is the case with the weather, which when about to become rainy, always gives some intimation of it, by the gathering of clouds over the hills.

On the 44th page of the same section, we read,

"Confucius said, The principles of the Hëá dynasty, consisted in honouring (the virtuous nature) decreed (by heaven), also in serving the Kweìs, and respecting the Shîns, while they kept them at a distance. The rulers of that dynasty drew the people near them, to render them faithful; hence they began by affording liberal emoluments, and afterwards endeavoured to influence by terror; they first rewarded, and then punished, so that they were regarded with affection, but not with awe: and the faults of the people consisted in folly and stupidity, pride and wildness, bluntness and a want of polish. The rulers of Yin, on the contrary, honoured the Shîns, and led the people on to serve them, while they regarded the Kweìs more then ceremonies, putting punishments in the first place and rewards afterwards; the result was a feeling of respect, but not of affection towards the rulers, while the people erred in being dissolute and unquiet, emulative and regardless of shame. The rulers of Chow, unlike these, honoured ceremonies and laid much stress on liberality, they served the Kweìs and respected the Shîns, while they kept them at a distance; they also drew the people near them, to render them faithful; the rewards and punishments administered, were according to the arrangements of ranks; the effect was that the rulers of that dynasty were more loved than feared, and the people erred in being gain-seeking and cunning, polished but shameless, injurious and obscured in mind."

The commentator says, that the people of Yin, endeavouring to correct the faults of their predecessors, leaned to the side of respect and dread, while they attended to the business of serving the Shîns; thus

they led the people on to regard the Kweis, which were beyond comprehension, and to disregard ceremonies, which were easy to be understood: hence the dissoluteness and unquietness manifested by the people, were the results of a veneration and regard for the Kwei Shîns. By the Kwei Shîns here are meant, according to the paraphrase, those mysterious beings belonging to the invisible world, who are capable of arousing men and transforming things, and must be understood of thoee expanders and contracters of nature so often referred to.

On the next page, we read,

"Confucius said, The principles of the Hëá dynasty did not allow them to make too free with words, while they did not expect perfection, nor require too much from the people; thus the people were not backward in an affectionate regard to their superiors. The rulers of the Yin dynasty did not make too free with ceremonies, while they required a strict obedience from the people. The rulers of Chow compelled people to submit to them, and did not make too free with the Shîns, while rewards and punishments were carried to the utmost."

The commentator says, that the one party did not make too free with words, because they honoured the decree (of Heaven); the other party did not make too free with ceremonies, because they put ceremonies in the back ground; whilst the third party did not make too free with the Shîns, because they respected the Shîns but kept them at a distance.

This passage is but a carrying out of the former sentence, and the meaning attached to the Shîns is the same.

On the 52nd page, we read as follows:

"Confucius spoke of the three dynasties of ancient times, that their enlightened monarchs all served the 神明 invisible and enlightened beings of heaven and earth in every case making use of prognostications and divinations, and not daring with private views and common feelings to serve the Supreme Ruler; neither interfering with the proper days, nor offending against the prognostications and divinations; while the prognostications and divinations did not entrench on one another."

According to the paraphrase, this intimates that the emperor should to be respectful in the service of heaven and earth, and ought not to

presume to perform it with common feelings. Those which belong to heaven, are called 神 Shîns, and those which belong to earth, are called 明 intelligent beings. Divinations and prognostications were used with the view of selecting the proper victim ; and it was considered necessary to employ such modes of ascertaining what was to be done, because people did not dare with their private and common things to serve the Supreme Ruler. Therefore the days and months were fixed according to the two solstices, at which periods no other business was suffered to interfere with those services. The sacrificial victims also were not taken in opposition to the decisions of the prognostications and divinations ; and whether the one or the other mode was employed, they were not allowed to interfere with each other.

The writer goes on to say,

"Great affairs have certain days appointed for them, while small affairs have no fixed days, but divinations in such cases were employed ; for outside matters *hard* days were chosen, and for internal matters *soft* days selected ; Confucius said, the perfect victims, being prepared, with the ceremonies and music, as well as the adjustings and purifyings, while nothing is done to offend against the divinations and prognostications, then no injury will accrue to the Kweì Shîns, nor lamentations be found among the people."

The commentator on this passage says, that great affairs, refer to the sacrificing to great Shîns, and small affairs, to the offerings made to little Shîns. The services performed towards hills and rivers, are the outside matters, while those enacted in the ancestorial temple, are the internal affairs. All things being in proper order, the minds of the Shîns and men would be rendered agreeable. Not to sustain injury, means that the Kweì Shîns would approach ; not to complain, means that the people would enjoy happiness. The Kweì Shîns are capable of happiness and misery, therefore of the Kweì Shîns it is said, no injury will accrue. The people are capable of enjoyment and sorrow, therefore of the people it is said, they will not complain.

In the above passages, we have one peculiarity not met with before, viz. the division of the 神 invisible and the 明 intelligent beings, one class being assigned to heaven, and the other to earth. We cannot, however, from this draw any inference to indicate that the Kweì Shîns are different from anything, which we have before seen them to be. It does not appear from the Chinese author, what were intended by great, and what by little Shîns, but it is supposed that the former

refer to the genii presiding over the larger mountains and rivers, while the latter might intimate merely those that were supposed to rule over hillocks and streamlets. The services of both the great and little Shîns, however, seem to have belonged to outside matters, while the sacrifices in the ancestorial temples were ranked among internal affairs. The injury apprehended, as likely to accrue to the Kweì Shîns, must refer to their being deprived of their accustomed sacrifices, or, from those sacrifices not being offered according to propriety, their being prevented from enjoying them. In either case, it does not give us a very exalted opinion of the Kweì Shîns, as being so dependent for their happiness and misery upon the sacrifices and services of men.

On the 64th page, another reference to the Shîns occurs, but as it is a quotation from the Shoo-king, already considered, it is not worth while going over it again.

We pass on now to the Yih-king, or Book of Diagrams, and under the 乾 Këen Diagram, 10th page, we read as follows:

"The Great man (or the sage in power) associates in his virtue with heaven and earth, assimilates in his brightness to the sun and moon, accords in his regularity with the four seasons, and corresponds in his happy or calamitous visitations with the Kweì Shîns. When he precedes 天 heaven, or nature (in the discovery of new inventions), nature does not revolt against his views; and when he follows 天 heaven, or nature, he still complies with the seasons appointed by heaven; seeing then that 天 heaven, or nature, does not oppose him, how much less can men, and how much less can the Kweì Shîns?

The commentator says, that the phrase "the great man" in the above paragraph, is intended to explain the expression used under a preceding diagram, which speaks of the great man appearing for the advantage of mankind. When a person possesses the requisite virtue, and fills the proper station, he can be considered in this light. Men, together with heaven and earth, as well as the Kweì Shîns, have originally no two principles, but common men become obscured by the spirit of selfishness, thus being fettered by their fleshly bodies, they

cannot get a thorough perception of things; the great man, on the contrary, having no selfish views, and embodying right principles, cannot be said to be either this or that, first or last? "Getting the start of nature, and meeting with no opposition," means that when he has an inclination to do anything, his meditations coincide with the rule of right; "following nature, and obeying its dictates," means that knowing right principles to be thus, he obediently complies with them.

The paraphrase says, He that may be called a great man, and appears for the advantage of the empire, is one who not only possesses high rank, but also virtue. Now with respect to virtue, there can be no greater virtue than that of heaven and earth, which sustains all, and overspreads all without distinction; thus also the great man is extensively kind in sustaining things, and exaltedly bright in overspreading things, so that he unites in virtue (with heaven and earth.) Going on from this, we perceive that betwixt heaven and earth, the sun and moon, in conformity with the rule of right, steadily display their brightness; thus the great man, also, in knowledge extends to every place, and enlightens men on all sides without limitation, so that he unites in splendour (with the sun and moon.) Further, we see that the four seasons, according to the rule of right, alternately revolve; thus the great man, in the exercise of virtue, propriety, good government, and necessary inflictions, whether they should precede or follow, be more rapid or more slow, in every instance acts according to a certain order, thus he unites in regularity (with the four seasons.) Further we see, that the Kweì Shîns, according to the rule of right, steadily prevail, while they bless the good and curse the bad: so also the great man, by rewards urges men on to goodness, and by punishment restrains their vicious propensities, by the exhibition of favour he illumines the virtuous, and by the display of terribleness, he curbs the villainous, thus he unites (with the Kweì Shîns) in bringing down happiness or misery on people. So true it is, that he combines in the exhibition of virtue with heaven and earth. Therefore when he precedes heaven or nature, in opening out the minds of men, and in establishing those things which from of old until that time had never been known, then seeing that heaven or nature originally possessed the principles referred to, it could of course make no opposition to the great man. So also when he follows out the dictates of heaven or nature, in establishing government, and in complying with those things which human beings by their original constitution and the celestial decree possess in common, then as heaven or nature possesses in itself these fixed principles, the great man could do no more than just obey the dictates of nature and act accordingly. In this way, when he precedes nature, then this natural feeling, proceeding from himself, does not oppose; and when he follows out the dictates of nature, then this natural feeling, being that which he himself complies with, likewise offers no opposition. If heaven or nature does not oppose, how much less can men? on the contrary the distant will look towards him with hope, and the near be free from dissatisfaction. How much less also can the Kweì Shîns oppose? The imperial will (or the will of the great man) being previously fixed, the Kweì Shîns have nothing to do but to comply; what further

doubt can there be, that advantages result from the appearance of the great man.

An extract from the writings of Choo-foo-tszè on this subject says. This paragraph is designed to explain the virtues of the great man. The preceptor, in this passage, means, that the virtue of the sage is substantially built on the rule of right, and is utterly divested of selfishness: as heaven overspreads all things without any private partialities, and earth sustains all things without respect of persons, so also the sun and moon display no private enlightenings, nor are the four seasons arranged with any private views, while the happiness and misery induced by the Kweì Shîns is entirely separated from all selfish considerations. Now all this is in conformity with the rule of right. The great man being divested of selfishness, possesses in himself this rule of right, and wherever he confronts his conduct, whether he compares it with heaven and earth, or the sun and moon, or the four seasons, or the Kweì Shîns, there is an invariable unison and agreement. When speaking of 天 heaven in the phrase "heaven and earth," the writer refers to its form and substance; but when speaking of heaven or nature, in the phrase "preceding heaven, and following heaven or nature," the writer refers to the rule of right. The phrases preceding or following heaven or nature, merely refer to one thing; as Yaou's yielding and Shún's receiving the empire (only respected one affair;) or as T'hang's setting aside and Woo's suppressing the tyrants (only referred to one business.) In establishing ceremonies and composing music, as well as in forming nets and snares, boats and carriages, and whatever was first invented and made, although they were things that had not previously been seen in the world, yet they were constructed according to principles originally existing in nature; but because the sages instituted things that had not been before in existence, they were said to have preceded nature; and because the sages took their ideas from principles that were originally in existence, they were said to have followed nature. So that after all, the forms and appearance of things, together with the sagss, in all their length and breadth, were in perfect unison with the rule of right. The four sentences above quoted, which refer to the sages' uniting in virtue with heaven and earth, all imply that the rule of right is not to be separated between this and that; while the phrases, preceding nature and following nature, imply that the rule of right is not to be distinguished into prior and later. Some have doubtingly asked, whether the preceding and the following of nature should be taken in this loose point of view, merely considering that the preceding of nature refers to non-contradiction, and the following of nature to nature's not revolting against the arrangement, &c. to which we may reply, that these are expressions implying the perfect unison of the sage's principle with the form and manner of things.

We have been thus full in giving the commentary and paraphrase on the above extract, in order to present our readers with a pretty correct idea of what the

Chinese think of their sages, and what of the Kweì Shîns. By the Kweì Shîns, in the first part of the extracts, who bring down happy or calamitous visitations on men, are meant those contracters and expanders of nature, who acting in accordance with the rule of right, steadily prevail over every opposition, and thus bring down blessings on the good and curses on the bad. That, however, not in pursuance of their own dictates, but in obedience to the will of Heaven; and not by awarding final and irreversible happiness or misery on mankind, but by so arranging the winds and rains, with other meteorological phenomena, as to produce advantage or disadvantage to their votaries. In the latter part of the sentence, the Kweì Shîns, as well as human beings, are represented as not being able to act in opposition to the sages: for since these latter comply with the rule of right, act in accordance with the dictates of nature, and therefore meet with no opposition from Heaven, how can the former think of presenting any obstruction to the accomplishment of their wishes? In fine, the paraphrast cuts the matter very short by saying, The imperial will, or the dicta of the sages, having been previously determined on, the Kweì Shîns have nothing to do, but to comply.

Under the 謙 K'hëen diagram, 44th page, we read, "The way of heaven is to diminish the full, and to add to the humble; the way of earth is to overturn the full, and to replenish the humble; the Kweì Shîns bring calamities on the full, and happiness on the humble; the way of man is to hate the full, and to love the humble; when the humble are in high stations, then they display brightness, when they are in low stations, they cannot be passed over; this is the final result of the good man's conduct."

The commentator says, that to overturn, means to overthrow and destroy; to replenish, means to collect things and make them revert to a place. When a man can exercise humility, then while dwelling in an honourable station, his virtue will be the more splendidly displayed, and while occupying a meaner post, other men will be unable to pass over him. This is the way in which the good man attains the result of his conduct.

The paraphrase says, The good man in reaching his final result, constantly refers to heaven and earth, with the Kweì Shîns, in order to compare them with human feelings, and discover their conformity. We observe that the way of heaven is, by the coming and going of the sun and moon, the contracting and expanding of cold and heat, to diminish the full and to add to the humble. We also observe, that the way of earth is, by the disrupture of mounds and hillocks, and their consequent subverting and sinking, also by the confluence of streams into vallies, and their subsequent increase and filling up, to overturn the full and replenish the humble. We further perceive, with regard to the Kweì Shîns, that the proud and full are visited with calamity, and the humble and retiring receive happiness. We again see that, according to the way of man, the full and overflowing are with one consent abhorred, while the respectful and humble are unitedly loved. If men could but exercise humility, wherever they went, they would prosper; should they occupy high stations, their virtues would be looked up to by the lower people, and thus they would be splendidly displayed; but if they could occupy these stations in an humble spirit, they would still more be looked up to by others, and would not this be yet more glorious? Should they occupy meaner stations, where men might easily despise them, they might thus be passed over; but if they could occupy these stations in an humble spirit, then men would not conceive the idea of despising them, in which way then could they be passed over? Now humility in its commencement, does not depend upon the station which a man fills; should he dwell in an honourable post, he is still glorious, but when he occupies a meaner station, he cannot be passed over; while in its termination, humility does not deprive him of any influence derived from his station; thus it is, that the good man attains the result of his conduct.

The Kweì Shîns mentioned in the above extract, are those same contracters and expanders of nature, who, by certain dispositions of meteorological arrangements, cause men to experience happiness or misery, and, in conformity with the usual proceedings of the powers of nature, bring calamity on the full, while they confer happiness on the humble.

Under the 豐 Fung Diagram, and on the 51st page, we read,

"When the sun arrives at the meridian, there is immediately an inclination (to decline); when the moon arrives at the full, it instantly goes on to the wane; thus heaven and earth become full and empty, seasons also diminish and grow, how much more is this the case with regard to men, and the Kweì Shîns?"

The commentator says, that this sentence is intended to illustrate the phrase connected with the diagram, and that the idea it conveys

is, beware of exceeding the due medium.

The paraphrase says, The former sentence stated, that we should hit the centre like the sun coming to the meridian, meaning that we should constantly maintain the due medium, and not pass over to excessive fulness; while, observing that fulness is immediately succeeded by decay, we see still more the duty of keeping at the medium, and avoiding running into excess. Now, when the sun comes to the meridian, it enjoys its fulness; but when it arrives at that point, it invariably begins to decline. The moon also at the full, is in the height of her glory, but then she invariably begins to wane. Although these luminaries are great, yet when heaven and earth display, expand, illumine, and brighten their fulness, this is the time when they grow; so also when nature receives, collects, reverts, and stores up their emptiness, this is the time when they must diminish. Times of fulness and diminution, even heaven and earth cannot escape; how much more when human affairs are moulded and bound round in the midst of heaven and earth, and when the Kwei Shins move and revolve within nature's bounds, can they disobey this law, and expect to be always full? This is the reason why kings should be tremblingly alive to the duty of preserving the due medium, and not pass over into excessive fulness.

Choo-foo-tszè, in his general work says, There are many expressions connected with the Fung diagram, but they are all to be referred to the idea of the sun beginning to decline after having reached the meridian. This extreme of fulness, we ought very carefully to maintain, as in the meridian of the day, and then it would be well. He also observed, From this point to pass over to danger and ruin, is only a step, therefore we should be humble and self-reproving, in order to preserve what we have obtained. We have been told, that the Kweì Shîns are the changes and transformations of heaven and earth; in the movements and operations of nature, the Kweì Shîns embody every thing without exception. The sun and the moon, declining and waning, after having arrived at the meridian and the full, as well as nature's advancing and decaying, replenishing and exhausting, are all effects produced by the Kweì Shîns. Having referred to this, it is necessary that we more distinctly explain it, by observing, that the four seasons, heat and cold, rain and dew, wind and thunder, together with the flowing of rivers, the rising of hills, the flourishing of plants, and the decay of vegetables, are all substantially brought about by the Kweì Shîns.

From the above we perceive, that the Kweì Shîns above spoken of are the usual expanders and contracters of nature; moving and revolving within the compass of heaven and earth, and producing various changes and transformations, movements and operations; such as, the rising and setting of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, meteorological phenomena, and vegetable energies, which are all ascribed to the Kweì Shîns; and yet they are not able to divest themselves of the liability to change, nor to claim exemption from the operation of that law which binds all nature under its influence. They are, therefore, a part of that nature, which, by their expandings and contractings, they put in motion, and can be no more than a sort of *anima mundi*, numerously diversified and dispersed throughout heaven and earth, under the direction and control of some higher power.

In the section of the Book of Diagrams, called 繫辭 connected expressions, on the 5th page, we read as follows:

"Looking up he makes use of (the scheme of the diagrams) to observe the phenomena of heaven; looking down, he makes use of the same, to inspect the contour of the earth; therefore (the sage) knows the causes that operate in the visible and invisible world. He traces out things to their origin, and reverts to their conclusion, thus he knows the theory of life and death; he sees that the conjunction of the 精 vital fluids, and 氣 animal breath constitutes living things, but that the wandering of the 魂 finer part of the animal soul brings about a change: thus he knows the circumstances and conditions of the Kweì Shîns."

The commentator says, This paragraph exhausts the theory of right principles. To make use of, means that the sage makes use of the scheme of the diagrams for the above purposes. The scheme of the diagrams is nothing more than a detail of the male and female principles of nature. The visible and invisible worlds, life and death, together with the Kweì Shîns, are all produced by the changes of the male and female principles of nature, and are all in accordance with the rule of right inherent in heaven and earth. The phenomena of the heaven, refer to night and day, with the rising and setting (of the

heavenly bodies ;) the contour of the earth, refers to the elevation or depression of north and south. To trace out, means to go back to that which has gone before ; to revert, means to examine things in their subsequent results. The female principle of nature is synonimous with the vital fluids, and the male principle with the animal breath, when these combine and form living things, this is the expansion of the Shîn ; but when the finer part of the animal soul begins to ramble, and the grosser part to descend, then these disperse and a change takes place, which is the reverting of the Kwei.

The paraphrase says, That the scheme of the diagrams supplies what seems deficient in the 道 principles of heaven and earth, and when these principles are dispersed and variously diffused over heaven, earth, and the myriad of things, this is what is called 理 the principle of order. The sage makes use of the scheme of the diagrams, in order to exhaust this principle of order. Looking up, he observes the phenomena of the heavens, and looking down, he examines the contour of the earth, and thus knows that day, with the rising of heavenly bodies, the southern quarter, with that which is more elevated in nature, belong to the visible world, and constitute the changes of the male principle of nature : while night, with what is low, the north quarter, with what is deep, belong to the invisible world, and constitute the transformations of the female principle of nature ; while he takes the scheme of the diagrams in order to know the way in which the visible and invisible worlds subsist as they do. He traces out the origin of things up to the place where the first commencement began, and he looks round to the end, as far as the point where all things terminate and die ; thus at the commencement, he finds that the congelation of the 氣化 transforming breath of nature, is the 變 change from nothing into being of the male principle ; and afterwards, that the exhaustion of the transforming breath of nature is the 化 change existence to non-existence of the female principle of nature ; thus the theory of life and death is ascertained by means of the scheme of the diagrams. Then again he observes, that the 陰精 secret animal fluids belonging to living things are connected with the 陽氣 open vital breath of the same, thus uniting and consolidating they constitute the outward forms of things, this then is the converting into being of the male principle of nature ; afterwards, when the 魂 finer part of 氣 human spirit quits the 魄 coarser part of the 精 animal fluids, suddenly it rambles forth, and this constitutes the last change of living things, this then is the converting into nonentity of the female principle of nature ; in this way the circumstances and condition of the Kweì Shîns are known by the scheme of the diagrams ; and so this work is the scheme that comes up to the level of the sages and exhausts the principles of nature.

The Kweì Shîns spoken of in the above extract are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life. When the animal fluids, (including the

blood and semen,) which are said to be synonimous with the female principle of nature unite with the living breath, which is said to be synonimous with the male principle of nature, this constitutes a human being, and this is the expansion of the Shîn; but when the finer part of the animal constitution quits the coarser, and begins to ramble, while the coarser part descends to earth, this brings about the change, which we call death, and this is the reverting of the Kweì. Thus then the Kweì Shîn are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending Shîn, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled Kweì, which reverts to earth and nonentity.

The writer in the book of diagrams on the next page says,

"(The sage) moulds and encircles the transformations of heaven and earth, and thus there is no error; he bends and completes the myriads of things, and thus there is nothing neglected; he understands the principles of day and night, and knows them thoroughly; therefore his 神 mysteriousness is without any fixed place (i. e. extends to unlimited space), and his 易 transformations are without any settled form, (that is pervade every form and substance.")

The commentator says, that this paragraph sets forth the business of the sage, in carrying to the utmost the decrees (of Heaven.) To mould, is like having a mould (for the founding of metals); to encircle is to enclose in a square, as a city is surrounded by its environs. The transformations of heaven and earth are endless, and the sage forms a mould and circle for nature, that it may not supass the due medium; this is what is called cutting out and completing. To understand is the same as to combine in one's ideas. Night and day refer also to the visible and invisible worlds, life and death, together with the Kweì Shins. When (the sage) is able to do this, then may be seen the wonderfulness of his extreme mysteriousness, which has no definite place for its limits, and the changes of his transforming power, which has no settled form within which to confine it.

The paraphrase says, When the rule of right pervades all productions and transformations, this is called the decree of Heaven. The sage employs 易 the system of changes to carry out to the utmost the celestial decree. The transformations of heaven and earth were originally confused and chaotic, without any distinction, so that error

was unavoidable. But the sage by means of 易 the system of changes moulded and encircled the whole, regulating the calculations and rendering evident the seasons, in order to limit and adjust the periods (for husbandry.) The philosopher also brought countries into order, and wastes under cultivation, in order to divide and portion off the land: thus he moulded and encircled every thing, so as to avoid error. So also when the myriad of things were produced, they were scattered about without any proper arrangement, and in various instances were unable to perfect themselves; but the sage employed 易 the system of commutations to bend and complete them, cherishing and nourishing, or stopping and limiting them, in order to suit the growth of men and things; he also aided and assisted, or promoted and advanced them, in order to revive the original nature of men and animals; thus he bent and completed them, without neglecting a single individual. Further, the course of day and night, alternately revolved without exactitude, so that it was difficult thoroughly to comprehend it; but the sage, by means of 易 the doctrine of permutations, attained to a thorough perception of the pr nciple; thus meditating on and combining the causes that produced its contractings and expandings, he fully understood the springs of its coming and going; and the principle of day and night, including whatever is apparent in heaven, earth, and the myriads of things, became invariably known. All these three constitute the decrees of Heaven, the substance of them being minute and mysterious, not to be comprehended, and the use of them being furthermore changeful and varied without end, they were originally unbounded by any place or form. The sage, however, moulded and encircled, bent and completed, and thoroughly comprehended the principle; thus while it luxuriated in the recesses of the sage's mind, it seemed to have no settled place, and yet there was no place in which it was not settled, so that its position was not to be comprehended; is not this an instance of unbroken continuance, like the extremely mysterious character of the celestial decrees? So also while it passed through the permutations of the sage's mind, it seemed to have no certain action, and yet there was no substance on which it was inactive, so that its form and substance were not to be scrutinized; is not this an instance of unceasing operation, like the infinite changes of the celestial decree? Thus the 易 scheme of the diagrams, being the book in which the sage carries to the utmost the decrees of heaven, displays more and more the greatness of this scheme of permutations?

In the above extract we see that the word Shîn must be taken adjectively, and is to be rendered mysterious and inscrutable. The whole refers to the sage, and not to invisible beings; and speaks of the wonderful action of the pefect man, aiding heaven and earth in their transformations, and the myriad of things in their completions. The idea (which is perfectly Chi-

nese) is, that heaven and earth in their chaotic wildness were likely to produce confusion, had not the sage stepped in, and by his mouldings and circumscribings, calculatings and economizings, regulatings and civilizings, brought the world into some kind of order, and thus assisted nature in its operations. So also with regard to the various animal and vegetable productions, which were scattered about without any order, and were never likely to come to any perfection, it required the sage's interference to train and nurture, encourage and foster, cultivate and arrange, suiting different products to their proper soil, and various engenderings to their fit seasons, or else the world would soon have been an overgrown wilderness, filled with a disproportionate collection of monstrous beings; but the sage by his instructions and regulations sets all to rights, and the world wags on without disturbance. Thus likewise with regard to the varying length of the days and nights, and the endless diversities of the seasons, there would have been no possibility of adjusting human labour to the proper periods, so as to have rendered them most productive, had not the sage again come to the assistance of nature, and pointed out what was to be done, in order to benefit by the constant changes of the atmosphere. Now in effecting all this, the wisdom of the sage was so universally present, that it appeared mysterious beyond conception; and his interference was felt on so many subjects, that his calculations seemed incapable of being grasped by common minds; hence the use of the phrase at the latter end of the paragraph above quoted.

After this follows a chapter, the whole of which we insert here, on account of its important bearings on the subject in dispute.

"One male principle or one female principle of nature, may be called 道 the right course of things."

The commentator says, that the male and female principles of nature, alternately changing, constitute the 氣 breath or energy of nature; the 理 rule according to which these revolve may be denominated the 道 right course of things.

The paraphrase says, That this section speaks of the right course of things being nothing more than the male and female principle of nature, while it particularizes its real condition, in order to admire its mysteriousness. If one should ask, how shall we denominate 道 the right course of things ? we would say, that between heaven and earth, there is nothing more than these two 氣 energies of the male and female principle of nature. When the 太 極 Great Extreme moved, it produced the male principle ; when it had moved to the uttermost, it rested, and in resting produced the female principle. After it had rested to the utmost extent, it again moved, and thus went on in alternate motion and rest without cessation. All this is produced by the motion and rest of the Great Extreme, and this constitutes the right course of things.

The writer goes on to say, "The connection of these two constitutes goodness, and the perfection of them constitutes the virtuous nature (decreed by Heaven.)"

Here the commentator remarks, The right course of things is already prepared in the female principle of nature, and is acted out in the male principle. The word connection, refers to the display of the right course of things ; and the term goodness respects the work of transforming and nourishing, which is the business of the male principle of nature. The word perfection, refers to its being already prepared ; and the virtuous nature respects that which men and things receive from Heaven. It means, that when things are produced they possess a perfect nature, and each one having this fully prepared in itself, this constitutes the right course of things, which is the business of the female principle of nature.

The paraphrase says, Speaking of things from the time of their production and transformation, their flowing and pervading, or their being given and bestowed, we should say, that after matter had rested to the utmost extent, it then began to move, floating and pervading, displaying and nourishing ; this is what is meant by connecting (or carrying on the operations of the male and female principle of nature,) and is the work of transforming and nourishing ; at such time, the energies of nature were first beginning to move, and the principle of order had not yet been brought to play upon things, although the principle itself existed in the celestial arrangements ; this then constituted the goodness spoken of in the text. After matter had moved to the utmost extent, then it began to rest, congealing and collecting, and consolidating into form, this is what is meant by completing, (or perfecting the operations of the male and female principle of nature,) and is that which men and things have received ; at that time, the energies of nature being already consolidated, and the principle of order being thereupon fully prepared, each one obtains this principle and springs up into life, this then constitutes the virtuous nature spoken of in the text. The connecting of these and the attainment of goodness, is the work of the male principle ; the completing of them and the constituting of virtuous nature, is the work of the female principle ; thus one male and one female principle alternate with each other with-

out intermission, and the right course of things is inherent therein.

The writer in the text, further remarks:

"The benevolent man seeing this, calls it benevolence; the wise man observing it, denominates it wisdom: the common people, in their daily practices, are ignorant of both; therefore the principles of the good man are seldom discerned."

The commentator says, that benevolence belongs to the male principle, and wisdom to the female principle of nature; each one obtains but one corner of the right course of things, thus according to their various predilections, they account that which they possess to be the whole substance of virtue. Those who are employed in their daily avocations, do not know either of these, and therefore, it is invariably the case that few of those who eat and drink, can discern the proper taste; these again are a stage lower than the former. But after all, there are none of them without the right course of things.

The paraphrase says, Speaking of the partial character of men's natural endowments, we should say, that the one obtaining the excitement of the male principle of nature, is more inclined to benevolence, and thus adhering to his views of benevolence, imagines that the whole essence of virtue consists in benevolence; not knowing that there is such a thing as wisdom requiring his attention. Another receiving the sedateness of the female principle of nature, is more versed in wis dom, and thus seizing fast hold of the idea of wisdom, fancies that the whole substance of goodness is to be found therein, without adverting to the requirements of benevolence. While those who receive a mixture of the male and female principle, and constitute the mass of the people, although they are daily busied about wisdom and benevolence, yet do not comprehend nor enquire into either; and thus it is, that the united principles of wisdom and benevolence, which the good man possesses, are seldom perceived. The activity of benevolence constitutes the male principle, and the sedateness of wisdom constitutes the female principle, while in the daily practices of common people, both principles are present; and in this the right course of things consists.

Further on the writer remarks:

"(Nature) displays its benevolence, and stores up its benefits, thus encouraging the production of all things, without dispalying anxiety like the sages; how extreme are its perfect virtues and its ample stores!"

The commentator says, To display, means to come forth from within; benevolence, refers to the work of production and transformation, and is the display of virtue. To store up, means to bring in from without; benefits refer to the mysteriousness of nature's springs and bonds, and constitute the source of wealth. Ching-tsze says, Heaven and earth, without the exertion of thought, bring about their transformations; the sages employ much thought, but do not interfere with the operations of nature.

The paraphrase says, Speaking of the outgoings and incomings of the transformations and secret springs of nature, we should say, that nature, in causing things to spring and grow, certainly practices benevolence; for just then, at the commencement of things, the goodness of its productive energies comes forth from within, and is manifested in a benevolent manner. So also heaven and earth, in causing things to grow and flourish, is the source of advantage; for when the fruits of the earth attain their completion, the beneficial things which nature has produced are brought in from abroad, and stored up for future use. Thus nature displays its benevolence, in order to promote the budding of the myriad of things, and then stores up its benefits, in order to encourage the bringing in of natural productions; but whether in its issuings forth or in its returnings, it acts spontaneously, and does not in the least resemble the anxieties of the sages, who employ their thoughts and exhaust their minds in the constitution of the empire. Now the display of benevolence is the manifestation of virtue, and is exhibited towards the myriads of things, thus its virtue is perfect; so also the storing up of benefits is the source of wealth, and since every thing is thus treasured up, its stores must be ample. Besides every one of these acts, coming from unpremeditated goodness, constitutes the extreme of benevolenee, without the possibility of its being traced; and wonderful utility, without our being able to point out its commencement; is it not then surpassingly excellent?

The writer goes on to say,

"The riches possessed by nature may be called ample stores; its perpetual renovations may be called its perfect virtue."

The commentator Chang-tsze says, In its rich possessions nature is vast and unlimited; in its daily renovations, it is protracted and inexhaustible.

The paraphrase says, Nature's stores are completed without, but how shall we denominate the depositing of its benefits within? Thus, although its stores are externally exhibited, yet they are produced from within, and are perpetually deposited there for use; when nature conceives the idea of producing things, these are all nourished and fostered within, and from this germ are displayed and disclosed, in an unlimited and boundless degree; this is the reason why nature's stores are so ample; (and this is the way to speak of the depositing of benefits within.) Again, nature's virtues accumulate within, but how shall we describe the display of its benevolence without? In this way, although its virtues are internally conceived, yet they superabound without, and are constantly exhibited in the displays of benevolence; when nature puts in motion the springs that produce the varieties of things, these are all displayed and disclosed without, and from this they are impelled onwards, and transformed, until their productions and growings become inexhaustible; thus it is that nature's virtues are thus perfect, (and this is the way to describe the displays of its benevolence.) The perfect virtue of displaying benevolence belongs to the male principle of nature: and the ample stores deposited for use belong to the female principle. After having been

displayed, they are again deposited, and after being for some time deposited, they are again displayed ; thus there is one male and one female principle of nature alternately revolving without intermission, and the right order of things is found to consist in this.

Our author goes on to say,

"The producings and reproducings of nature may be denominated 易 change."

The commentator says, The female principle of nature produces the male, and the male the female ; their changes are endless, and in this the fitness of things, and the scheme of the diagrams are both alike.

The paraphrase says, If we view this subject in the light of the mutual changes of the male and female principles of nature, we shall find that, there was one female principle, and again one male, thus the female produced the male. So also there was one male principle of nature, and again one female, thus the male produced the female. The connecting of these two, as constituting goodness, resulting in the perfecting of them, as constituting virtuous nature, as well as the display of benevolence followed by the storing up of benefits, all shew that the male principle produced the female. The perfecting of them to form virtuous nature, being again followed by the connecting of them to constitute goodness, as well as the storing up of benefits, being again succeeded by the display of benevolence (in the new springing forth of things), shews that the female principle may again produce the male. Thus then one male and one female principle alternately revolving without cessation, shews that the right order of things is inherent in the whole.

In the next paragraph we read,

"That which produces the shapeless mass of things, may be called 乾 the superior principle, and that which 效 presents to view 法 the exact form of things, may be called 坤 the inferior principle of nature."

The commentator says, That the word 效 heaou, means to present or bring to notice, and that the word 法 fă, refers to the exact and visible part of production and transformation.

The paraphrase runs thus : If we would speak of the order of things in their springing into being, we should say, that when the 氣 breath of nature first congeals, it just then produces something like an unshapen fœtus, which constitutes the shapeless mass or the incipient origin of things ; this being light and pure, but not yet possessing any determinate form, belongs to the male, and may be called the superior principle of nature ; but when the determinate shape has been assumed, it manifestly presents itself to view, and constitutes the exact form of things, possessing body, colour, shape and manner, this being heavy and gross, and cognizable to human senses, belongs to the female, and may be called the inferior principle of nature ; thus one male and one female principle alternately changing without intermission, the right course of things is therein to be found.

The author goes on to say,

"When we carry out numbers to the uttermost, in order to ascertain coming events, this may be called prognostication; but when we thoroughly understand the changes likely to take place, this may be called settled business.

The commentator says, that prognostications here refer to the divining by straws. Matters before they are fixed belong to the male principle of nature. Matters here mean things to be done. After prognostications have been determined, the settled business belongs to the female principle of nature. To exhaust numbers and penetrate into futurity, is the way to ascertain the changes of events.

The paraphrase says, we may see the same principle in the use of the science of numbers to prognosticate. When we are just coming into contact with any matter, we enquire by means of the divining straws, and the aid of numbers, examining to the utmost the calculations of seven, eight, nine, and six, seeking to ascertain the lucky or unlucky character of coming events; this prognosticating of matters beforehand may be called divining. But after the prognostications have been fixed, and there is a certain method for hastening or avoiding expected results, we then abide by the same, and the changes incident to affairs are by this means ascertained; this acting out our plans, after the divinations have been practised, is called settled business. Prognostications therefore being employed when matters are not yet fixed, constitutes the male principle; and the transaction of business coming on when the divinations have been completed, constitutes the female principle of nature. Thus the male and female principles alternating with each other, the right course of things is found therein. This passage goes on from the production and transformation of things, aud speaks of the system of calculations and changes.

In the last sentence of this chapter, we read,

"The inscrutable character of the male and female principle of nature may be denominated 神 the mysterious."

The commentator, Chang-tsze, says, There are two principles present, hence the mysteriousness of it.

The paraphrase is as follows; Viewing the whole in connection, we see that the two originating causes, the male and female principles of nature, mutually and alternately push and agitate one another, without cessation; and since in the right course of things there are two principles existing, it is imposible to ascertain in which it is fixed. Now when a thing is fixed, it may be ascertained, and that which may be ascertained is not fit to be called 神 inscrutable: further with regard to the mysteriousness of this right course of things, if we should say, that it is confined to the male principle, we perceive that that which constitutes the female principle is really the substance of this right course of things, and the right course of things has

never yet been absent from the female principle of nature. So also should we suppose that it is confined to the female principle, we must acknowledge, that that which constitutes the male principle is in reality the acting out of this right course of things, thus the right course of things has never yet been exempt from the male principle of nature; how 神 inscrutable is it? Is it not like the original mysteriousness of the Great Extreme? When men can thoroughly comprehend 易 the science of numbers, they can then exhaust 神 the mysteriousness here spoken of. The right course of things consisting of one male and one female principle of nature, is assuredly nothing else than the male and female principle, and yet it does not depend upon the male and female principle of nature.

The Chinese account of the above chapter, which we have been thus minute in detailing, is that "every paragraph refers to the right course of things as constituting the one male and one female principle of nature, and every paragraph speaks of 不測之神 the inscrutable mysteriousness of the male and female principle of nature. The commentators, in explaining how it is thus, refer to the right course of things; not attempting to point to the way in which the right course of things exists, but to the way in which the right course of things constitutes the male and female principle of nature. The male and female principle here refer to motion and rest; the right course of things combines the idea of motion and rest. Speaking of the essence of the right course of things, it is called the Great Extreme. Speaking of the acting and moving of the Great Extreme, it is called the right course of things. Speaking of the mysteriousness of the right course of things, it is called 神 the inscrutable. The main object of this chapter, is to make men employ the scheme of the diagrams in order to understand the right course of things."

In the whole of the above chapter, the Chinese system of cosmogony is set forth. regarding which we may say that, however curious, and in some parts inexplicable, this much is certain, that the Shîns have nothing to do with it; for the word Shîn is here only employed as an adjective, meaning inscrutable and mysterious, and has nothing whatever to do with invisible beings or their operations. To derive the name or the attri-

butes of the Deity from a chapter like the above, is a pure figment of the imagination; and to explain the word Shîn, in the above connection, of anything relating to God, is entirely beside the mark.

In a subsequent chapter, the author observes:

"Of heaven may be predicated one, of earth two, of heaven three, of earth four, of heaven five, of earth six, of heaven seven, of earth eight, of heaven nine, of earth ten."

The commentator says, that this treats of the numbers belonging to heaven and earth; the male principle claiming the odd, and the female principle the even numbers; all of which may be found on the 河圖 river map. In that delineation, one and six were placed at the bottom, two and seven at the top, three and eight on the left, four and nine on the right, while five and ten occupied the centre. Speaking of the numbers according to their arrangement, then the five in the centre constituted the 衍母 parent of enumeration, and the ten next in order the offspring of enumeration. The one, two, three, and four, outside these, were the stations of the four forms; and the six, seven, eight, and nine, outside of all, were the enumerators of the four forms. The two venerated ones, (such as the great male and female principle of nature,) had their stations on the north-west corner of the map, and the two inferior ones (such as the little male and female principle of nature,) had their stations on the south-east corner of the delineation; with respect to their numbers, each one was arranged according to its class, and alternately disposed one outside of the other.

The paraphrase says, When men make use of the 易 scheme of the diagrams, they simply pull out the straws and seek for the divinations. This practice of culling the straws originated in the numbers of the great system of enumeration; these again originated in the numbers of the river map, while the numbers of the river map are the same as those which belong to heaven and earth. Formerly, in the time of Fŭh-he, a dragon horse came up out of the river, bearing a delineation; upon its back were circles, formed by the curling of the hairs, numbering from one to ten. People observing these, considered them merely as the numbers of the river map, not adverting to the circumstance of their being also the numbers of heaven and earth; nor to the question of which of these numbers may be ascribed to heaven, and which to earth; viewing them as we now find them, we should say, that heaven, belonging entirely to the male principle of nature, claims the odd numbers; thus the one, three, five, seven, and nine, of the river map, all being odd ones, are ascribed to the celestial enumeration. So also earth, belonging entirely to the female principle of nature, claims the even numbers, thus the two, four, six, eight, and ten of the river map, all being even, belong to the terrestrial enumeration. The substance of heaven and earth being put in opposi-

tion to each other, without change. the numbers from one to ten, are distinct in their application and yet unconfounded ; thus it is that the river map contained the entire enumeration of heaven and earth.

The author goes on to say,

"The celestial numbers are five, and the terrestrial also five ; their five positions mutually suit each other, and are severally united ; thus the celestial numbers amount to twenty-five, and the terrestrial ones to thirty, while both the celestial and terrestrial united make fifty-five ; these are the means whereby changes and transformations are effected, and the Kweì Shîns are put in motion."

The commentator says, The five celestial numbers, viz. one, three, five, seven, and nine, are all odd ones ; while the five terrestrial numbers, viz. two, four, six, eight, and ten, are all even ones. Their being mutually suited to each other means, that one is coupled with two, three with four, five with six, seven with eight, and nine with ten ; thus one even and one odd number are coupled together, and mutually suit each other. Their being united means, that one is put with six, two with seven, three with eight, four with nine, and five with ten, each pair of numbers being united two and two. Twenty-five are the five odd numbers added together. Thirty is formed from the five even numbers added together. The changes and transformations, mean that one changing produced water, and that six transforming completed it ; that two transforming produced fire, and that seven changing completed it ; that three changing produced wood, and that eight transforming completed it. That four transforming produced metal, and that nine changing completed it ; that five changing produced earth, and that ten transforming completed it. The Kweì Shîns refer to the contractions and expansions, the approachings and recedings of the productive and completing powers of the even and odd numbers.

The paraphrase says, That these numbers constitute the whole work of producing and transforming things, and that not one of them is unsuitable ; one, three, five, seven, and nine are all odd numbers, and belong to heaven ; thus the celestial enumerations are five ; two, four, six, eight, and ten, are all even numbers, and belong to earth, thus the terrestrial enumerations are also five. These five numbers on the river map, each obtain a settled position ; thus one is coupled with two, three with four, five with six, seven with eight, and nine with ten ; the odd are put first and the even afterwards, while the order is not disturbed, and each one obtains its proper place, as if divided in regular gradation, like elder and younger brethren who are not opposed to each other. While these numbers suit each other, they are naturally united, as one with six, two with seven, three with eight, four with nine, and five with ten ; one odd and one even number being coupled together as leader and follower, and both mutually united, as if they had some affection for each other, and were thus

coupled together like man and wife, who ought not to be put asunder. If we add up the celestial enumerations, we shall find that one and nine make ten, three and seven also ten, and putting in the five we have twenty-five. So also if we add the terrestrial enumerations, we shall find that two and eight make ten, four and six also ten, and putting in the ten, we have thirty. Uniting the celestial and terrestrial enumerations we have fifty five, and the mutually suited with the mutually united numbers are thus exhausted; that by which changes and transformations are completed can surely be none other than this, and that by which the Kwei Shins are moved can surely be none other than this; for one, three, and five are used to produce water, wood, and earth, while six, eight, and ten complete them; the changes commence with heaven, and the transformations are completed by earth; two and four produce fire and metal, while seven and nine complete them; in this the transformations commence with earth, and the changes are finished by heaven. There is nothing that may not be ascribed to these numbers, in order to their completion. Moreover, one, two, three, four and five, are the producing enumerations; these are the originating causes of the changes and transformations, and may be considered the advancing and expanding of the Shins, (or expanding principle of nature.) So also six, seven, eight, nine, and ten, are the completing enumerations; these are the completings of the work of change and transformation, and may be considered as the receding and contracting of the Kwei, (or contracting principle of nature). But the commencing and producing, belong to the advancing and expanding principle, which, after having produced anything, recedes and contracts; after having completed anything, although it has receded and contracted, yet when it was just completing the work, then its advancings and expandings were certainly set in motion by these numbers. Thus wonderful are the numbers of the river map, and thus mysterious its operations!

The writer goes on to say,

"The numbers of the great extension (in the centre of the river map,) are five and ten, (or when multiplied into each other fifty); of these numbers only forty nine are made use of in divining, (one being deducted, to represent the Great Extreme); divide this one into halves, in order to represent the two forms (or the male and female principle of nature); to these tack on one (as is it were by putting a straw between the fourth and middle finger of the left hand,) to represent the three powers, (or heaven, earth, and man); then take alternately four fingers of the right and left hand, to represent the four seasons; after which bring together the remaining fingers (after the manner of divining by straws,) to represent the intercalary moons;

in the course of five years, there are two intercalary moons, therefore repeat the operation of bringing together the remaining fingers, and change them as before.

"The aggregate number of the superior principle of nature, is two hundred and sixteen, (found by taking the three single numbers multiplied into themselves; which make nine, and multiplying that by the number of the 四象 four forms, representing the great and little male and female principle of nature, thus obtaining 36, and then multiplying this 36 by 6, the number of strokes, whether divided or open, in the scheme of diagrams, thus making 216;) and the aggregate number of the inferior principle of nature, is one hundred and forty four, (found by taking three double numbers, which makes six, and multiplying that 6 by the four forms above mentioned, thus making 24, and then multiplying this 24 by 6, the number above alluded to, will produce 144); the two aggregate numbers of the superior and inferior principles of nature, added together, make 360, the number of days (generally reckoned) for a year.

"The aggregate number of the two sections of the scheme of the diagrams, is eleven thousand five hundred and twenty, (found by multiplying 192, the number of closed strokes in the book of diagrams, by 36 as above, and obtaining 6,912; also by multiplying the same 192, the number of open strokes in the book of diagrams, by 24 as above, and obtaining 4608, these added together will make 11,520,) which may be considered as representing the numbers of the myriad of things.

"Therefore by means of these four operations, the doctrine of change is completed; and by 18 (triple) changes the scheme of (64) diagrams is perfected."

The commentator says, that the four operations allude to the dividing of the unit into two, the tacking on of one to two, in order to make three, the alternately taking four fingers from each hand to constitute four, and the collecting of the odd fingers to make up deficiencies, as mentioned in a former section. The change here refers to one alternation of a close and open stroke. Three such alternations constitute the 爻 six lines of the diagrams, and eighteen such alternations form six times six-lined diagrams.

Further on the writer says,

"The eight diagrams constitute a small completion, (after which the great completion of 64 diagrams follows.)

"If you lead out and expand these diagrams, making each come in contact with its fellow, and thus enlarge them, then the mighty operations of the whole world may be brought to a conclusion."

The commentator says, this means that having completed the six-lined diagrams, and observed whether the lines change alternately or not, in order to know whether they indicate motion or rest, then one diagram may be changed and rechanged. until it becomes sixty-four changes, in order to fix the lucky or unlucky character of events, and these sixty-four changed sixty-four times, will amount to 4096 changes.

"(These diagrams) bring to the knowledge of men the right course of things (which is otherwise hidden,) and 神 bring into contact with invisible beings human actions (which would otherwise be only known to men); in this way (the diagrams) may be useful in the intercourse of men, and be of some service to invisible beings, (in conveying their views to mankind.)

The commentator says, that the right course of things (otherwise secret) is manifested by the expressions attached to the diagrams; and outward action (otherwise only referring to human beings,) is brought into contact with the invisible world, by means of the science of numbers; intercourse here refers to answering and replying; and aiding invisible beings, means that the diagrams assist them in their work of transformation.

The paraphase says, the divining straws and the diagrams, are calculated to carry out to a conclusion the mighty operations of the whole world; but how are they used? The principles of lucky and unlucky omens which are found in the diagrams, constitute the right course of things; and when these are placed after the 18 alternate changes, and amongst the superfluities of leading and expanding, and bringing into contact one with another of the diagrams, then the principles of lucky and unlucky omens are luminously displayed by the expressions attached to the diagrams and the six-fold lines, and then the right course of things is manifested by the said expressions. Those things which should be approached or avoided among the people, constitute the line of human conduct; when these are placed after the eighteen alternate changes, and among the superfluities of the leading out and expanding, and bringing into contact one with another of the diagrams, then the people are all encouraged to attend to the rule of what should be approached or avoided, without weariness; thus virtuous conduct is by means of the doctrine of numbers brought into

contact with invisible beings. The straws and the diagrams being thus useful in manifesting the right course of things to men, and in bringing the virtuous conduct of men into contact with invisible beings, it follows, that when men harbour any doubts which they cannot decide, then in the visible world, the diagrams are useful in the intercourse of men, and in elucidating men's doubts; so also with regard to intelligent beings in the invisible world, who have no means whereby to make known their views to men, these diagrams are of use in the unseen world, in assisting invisible beings, and in expressing those things which invisible beings cannot utter. Thus the diagrams unite the secret and the displayed, and there is no separation between them.

Hang-she, treating of this passage, says, The right course of things adopted by Heaven, although it is secret, can be manifested by the diagrams, in order to make it known to men; and the affairs of men, although they belong mainly to the visible world, can be carried out, until they are made to accord with Heaven; thus in the visible world, the diagrams can correspond to the suitabilities of men and things, and in the invisible world, can aid in bringing to light the commands of the Kwei Shins

Another commentator says, The right course of things is the same as the fitness of things, and includes all these secret principles which the expressions of the Book of diagrams are calculated to make manifest and display. The course of conduct, refers to what is evident in human business and affairs. These two are quoted to exhibit the secret and the evident in contrast, intimating that the most abstruse thing in nature is the fitness of things, and yet the expressions attached to the diagrams are able to display it; which may be called the bringing to light of the invisible. So also that which is most manifest in nature, is the outward conduct of men, and yet the enumerations of the Book of diagrams are intended to 神之 bring it into contact with invisible beings, which may be called the carrying down into the unseen world of that which is evident.

We have been thus particular in detailing all the sections of the chapter introducing the paragraph now under debate, and in giving all that commentators and paraphrasts have written on it, in order to be sure that the ideas which we form of the expressions used in the text are not erroneous. From the whole of what has been adduced on this passage, then it will be evident, that the first 神 Shîn, used in the paragraph now under discussion, must be considered in the light of a verb, and is in many respects the opposite of the verb in the first member of the sentence. That word is 顯 hëën, and means to render evident, or to bring into contact with human beings in the visible world;

of course then 神 Shîn here must mean to render dark, or to bring into contact with invisible beings in the unseen world ; which will appear sufficiently plain to any one who attentively considers the whole passage. The second 神 Shîn in the sentence is a substantive, and refers to invisible beings in general, who have no means of making known their wishes to mankind, but through the medium of divination and the diagrams. These Shîns are also called Kweì Shîns by one of the commentators on the passage.

"Confucius said, He who knows the doctrine of changes and transformations, may perhaps know what the Shîns enact."

The commentator says, The doctrine of changes and transformations refers to the reckonings and arrangements detailed in the preceeding pages : all which are not such as could be brought about by human agency, therefore Confucius uttered this exclamation regarding them ; and the disciples inserted the phrase, Confucius said, in order to distinguish this sentence from the preceding ones.

The paraphrase says, Viewing these things in connection, we see that the enumerations of the Great Extension of heaven and earth, and the arrangements about separating the straws in seeking for the divinations, all accord with the principles of changes and transformations. But though numbers originate with heaven and earth, yet heaven and earth have no means whereby to exhibit their wisdom ; and though they are regulated by the sages, yet the sages have no means whereby to display their abilities in this respect ; thus the principles of change and transformation are all brought about by the 神 Shîns. The science of numbers is nothing more than the alternate movements of one energetic mechanism ; and the arrangements of the diagrams, are simply the accumulation and division of one single and one double number ; but they all spring from the spontaneous efforts of the principle of order and the force of circumstances, and are without thought and without effort ; they appear as if they cause things to be so and so, and yet they do not really cause things to be so and so ; and although they might wish things not to be thus, they cannot help their being thus. To know what the Shîns enact, is it not that whereby the science of numbers and the arrangements of the diagrams are constituted wonderful. From this point, using the straws in order to seek for divinations, you may know that the arrangements of the diagrams are spread out in the river map, and then you may know that the science of numbers originates with heaven and earth, and of course know that such numbers and arrangements, both come out from 神 the Shîns, and are not such as human agency could accomplish.

The critical commentator here observes, that the word 神 Shîn

here refers to the system of changes and transformations, and is to be taken in a different sense from the word Shîn, twice repeated in a former sentence, and rendered invisible beings.

From the above remark, therefore, we should infer, that according to the Chinese a number of contracting and expanding energies exist in nature, which work out the changes and transformations previously originating with heaven and earth; that these are especially active in divination, and in pointing out the secret and the future to those who use the straws and calculate the numbers; thus constituting a sort of Shîns, or expanders, presiding over prognostics. The science of numbers, and the arrangements of the diagrams producing certain results strike the Chinese as somewhat wonderful, appearing as if they caused things to fall out in a certain manner, and yet not in reality causing them; and seeming as if they could not help the falling out of events, in such and such a way, if they would; so that the Chinese have been led to imagine certain Shîns as presiding over and bringing about these numbers and diagrams, and that they are not brought about by human agency.

In the 8th chapter of the Sequel to the Book of Diagrams, we read as follows:

"The scheme of the diagrams according to the principles of the sages possesses four things; when people employ it to guide them in speaking, they pay particular attention to the expressions attached to the diagrams; when they use it to guide them in action, they observe the changes of the figures; when they employ it for the purpose of constructing their implements, they regard the figures of the diagrams; and when they use it for divining, they pay particular attention to the prognostications."

The commentator says, that these four embrace the system of changes and transformations, and are produced by the intervention of the Shîns, (or invisible beings presiding over divinations.)

"Therefore the good man, when he has anything to do for himself, or transact for others, enquires (by means of the diagrams) and makes use of them to guide him in his words or actions; on such occasions, (the

oracle) receives his statement, (and conveys to him an answer) like the echo immediately following the sound; and thus, no matter whether things are distant or near, dark or deep, he immediately knows (the character of) future events; now if (the scheme of the diagrams) were not the most 精 minute and abstruse thing in all the world, how could it be employed for such purposes!

"He then (arranges the straws) into threes and fives, in order to form (one) change; after which he shuffles them together and disposes of their numbers, by which he ascertains the (triple) change; then he constructs the arrangement of the celestial and terrestrial forms, and carries out the numbers to the utmost, whereupon he can determine the figures of all things under heaven; now if (the scheme of the diagrams) were not the most 變 capable of change of any thing in the whole world, how could it be employed for such a purpose?

"The scheme of the diagrams is without thought, and without action, silent and motionless; and yet, when it is put in operation, it enables the good man (to perceive all matters under heaven); now if it were not the most 神 inscrutable of all things in the world, how could it be equal to this?"

The commentator says, these four properties of the diagrams, above spoken of, are those by which the substance of the diagrams is established, and the use of them carried out into practice. The scheme of diagrams, here refers to the divining straws and the calculations; its being without thought and without action, means, that it has no mind. Its silence constitutes the essence of its operation, and its operation shews the use of its silence; the mysteriousness of men's minds in their motion and rest, is also to be referred to this.

The paraphrase says, Whence come the extreme minuteness of the expressions and prognostications, and the exceeding variableness of the forms and changes of the diagrams? certainly it must be their 神 mysteriousness, which establishes their substance and is displayed in their use. It may be that the expressions and prognostications, the forms and changes connected with this science, are divided into the culling of the straws and the working of the calculations, but certain it is that after all they constitute but one scheme of the diagrams. Whatever possesses mind, can exercise thought, but the scheme of the diagrams possesses no mind, how then can it think? so also, whatever possesses mind can act, but the scheme in question possesses no mind, how then can it act? Before the straws are culled, or the calculations worked; before the expressions or prognos-

tications are exhibited, or the forms and changes displayed, this scheme of the diagrams is silent and motionless, and this is the way, in which its substance is established; afterwards, when the straws are culled, and the calculations worked, when the statements are drawn up, and the forms settled, when the lucky may be known, and the unlucky determined, when the system is put in operation, and affords us some perception of thngs, this is the way in which the use of the scheme is carried out. Thus we may see, that in the midst of stillness there is motion, and things do not settle down into absolute stillness; also in the midst of motion there is stillness, and things are not perpetually moving; therefore the science of numbers can be without thought, and yet always occasioning thought; can be without action, and yet perpetually producing action; because it comes from the spontaneousness of the right course and the fitness of things, and carries to the utmost that which is most mysterious under heaven. If it were not so, how could the scheme in question be silent and yet able to operate, be operating and then understood, be understood and that in such an instantaneous manner.

Another commentator says, that this paragraph is intended to connect the former two sections, and express admiration of them; saying, that the doctrine of changes is not only 至精 extremely minute, and 至變 capable of variation, but also the 至神 most mysterious thing under heaven. Adding, that the word 神 Shîn, here, is employed 妙萬物而爲言 to intimate that it is the most mysterious thing in nature.

The writer goes on to say,

"The scheme of the diagrams is that by which the sages exhaust the abstruse, and examine the recondite.

"It is only because (this scheme) is abstruse, that it can aid in discovering the views of all under heaven; and only because it is recondite, that it can aid in perfecting every undertaking under heaven; and it is only because it is 神 mysterious (in these two respects), that without speed it rapidly (discovers men's views) and without travelling, it arrives at (the completion of affairs.)"

The commentator says, The discovery of men's views, and the accomplishment of business, are brought about by the 神 mysterious wisdom (contained in the scheme of the diagrams)

The paraphrase on this passage says, The sages in exhausting the abstruse and examining the recondite, do every thing in a spontaneous manner, thus in their discovery of the recondite and abstruse, there is something 神 mysterious. Therefore when the expressions and prognostications of the diagrams are made clear, the views of all men under heaven are discovered, and it is as if they

did not know by what means they were discovered: so also when the forms and changes of the diagrams are exhibited, the business of all men throughout the empire is completed, and it is as if they did not know by what means it was completed; thus without hurry this scheme rapidly discovers men's views, and without travelling it arrives at the completion of affairs; and it is not a vain pretence to say, that when this scheme is put in operation, it enables the good man to perceive all matters under heaven.

The chapter concludes by repeating the saying of Confucius, that "this is the meaning of the scheme of the diagrams' possessing four things, according to the principles of the sages."

In the next chapter, we read as follows:

"Confucius said, What is the use of the scheme of the diagrams? The scheme of the diagrams opens out the knowledge of things and completes undertakings, while it includes every principle under heaven; this is all that it is used for. Hence the sages employ this scheme to discover the intentions of all under heaven, to fix the business of all under heaven, and to settle the doubts of all under heaven.

"Therefore the virtue of the divining straws is complete and 神 inscrutable, while that of the diagrams is exact and wise; so also the quality of the sextuple lines is varying, and capable of presenting (an announcement to men;) the sages take these three, and herewith clear their minds; retiring they store up these in secret, and (when occasion calls for it) they sympathize with the people, in pointing out lucky and unlucky omens; they are 神 mysterious in the way in which they know coming events, and wise in the practice of storing up past affairs; and who is there that could attain to these things? but the intelligent and wise among the ancient worthies, who were 神 so inscrutable and awe-inspiring, that without the necessity of inflicting punishments, (they could produce such effects.)"

The commentator says, That complete and inscrutable, refers to the unbounded changes and transformations, (of the divining straws); so also exact and wise, refers to the fixed principle of things, (settled by the diagrams); he further says, that varying and capable of announcing, refer to the changes of the diagrams, which announce matters to mankind. The sages embody and fully possess the ex-

cellence of these three, without a single grain of embarrasment. When there is nothing to disturb them, their minds are silent and reserved, so that no one can pry into their feelings; and when anything occurs, then in the use of their 神知 inscrutable wisdom, whatever they seek to affect responds to their influence; this is what is called, knowing lucky and unlucky omens, without the use of prognostication. Their being 神 武 inscrutable and awe-inspiring without the necessity of inflicting punishments, means, that they possess the principles (of the diagrams) and have no need to resort to the use of the (divining) implements.

In the above sentence, the first two instances in which Shîn is used are explained by the paraphrast to mean 神 妙 莫 測 mysterious and inscrutable; while the third instance, is similar to an expression in the Historical Classic, already considered, which conveys the same idea.

The writer goes on to say,

"Therefore (the sages) clearly understanding the way of Heaven, and examining into the affairs of the people, have got up these 神 物 inscrutable things, in order to anticipate (lucky and unlucky events) for the use of the people; thus the sages make use of these with pureness and reverence, in order to 神 明 render their virtue more inscrutable and intelligent."

The commentator says, That the inscrutable things refer to the straws and tortoise used in divining. That which is clear and unadulterated, is denominated pureness; while the feeling of awe-struck veneration, is called reverence. The sages clearly understanding the course pursued by Heaven, knew that these inscrutable things could be set up; examining into the affairs of the people, they knew that the use of these things was indispensible, in order to anticipate the course of events, therefore, they invented divinations and prognostications, for the instruction of mankind; while in the use of these they were pure and reverent, that they might properly examine the auguries, and render their minds 神明不測 intelligent and inscrutable, like the 鬼 神 invisible beings, who could foreknow future events.

The 神 物 inscrutable things, mentioned in the above quotation, refer, as we find, to the straws and tortoise used in divination, because those articles, as the Chinese supposed, discovered to them in an inscrutable way future events; the expression 神 明 Shîn mîng, used in the latter part of the verse must be ta-

ken as a verb, and made to signify "render more inscrutable" the virtue of the sages, already unfathomable, that they like the 鬼 神 contracting and expanding powers of nature, (who in giving certain directions to the prognostications discovered future events,) might also be able to pry into futurity.

The writer goes on to say,

"Therefore the action of shutting of the door, may illustrate the 坤 inferior principle of nature, and the opening of the door 乾 the superior principle; the one opening and one shutting, is similar to a single revolution of nature; the going backwards and forwards, without end, resembles the thorough perpetuation of this action; when anything is brought out to view, it is a sort of shapeless mass, and when it assumes a definite form, it may be denominated a perfect utensil; to arrange these and bring them into use, is called the method (of divination); and to promote their use in going out and coming in, while the people all employ them (without knowing how or why,) is called 神 mysterious and inscrutable."

The commentator says, That the shutting and opening, refer to the springs of motion and rest in nature: the writer first alludes to the inferior principle of nature, because things proceed from stillness to motion. The changing and pervading of the superior and inferior principles of nature, refer to the work of transforming and nourishing things. The coming forth to view of a shapeless mass, which afterwards assumes a definite form, and constitutes a perfect utensil, refers to the order in which things are produced; the method of divination spoken of, refers to that which the sages do in the cultivation of virtue; and the 神 mysterious operation alluded to, refers to the people daily employing these things in a spontaneous and inscrutable manner.

The paraphrase is as follows: The sages getting up the inscrutable things (for divination,) in order to anticipate future events for the use of the people, is also like (the operations of nature) from which these inscrutable things proceed, and from whence flow these benefits for the use of the people. The 一氣 one breath, or energy, of nature, flowing and travelling abroad, is sometimes still and gathered up, like a door when it is closed; this belongs to the female principle, and is called the inferior power of nature. Again it moves occasionally, and discloses itself, like the opening of a door; this belongs to the male principle, and is called the superior power of nature. By means of one opening and one shutting, the seasons and

arrangements of a whole year are mutually interchanged, and this is called a revolution of nature. When this opening and shutting, backwards and forwards, goes on without intermission, and ten thousand ages revolve without end, this is called the thorough pervading of nature. These all constitute the work of production and renovation, by means of which the myriad of things are brought forth and nourished. Moreover, when things were first produced, at the very commencement of all, the 氣 breath or energy of nature, was in the first instance coagulated, and the incipient springs of existence became apparent, which might be denominated the first shapeless mass of visible matter, somewhat resembling what it was to be. Afterwards when matter was thus produced, and the grosser element completed, until it assumed a regular form, this might be called the heavy substantial and determinate utensil; while the inscrutable things (available for the purposes of divination) sprang up in the midst of all these. The sages then took the mysterious straws, and arranged them in number fifty, using only forty-nine of these; they then tripled and quintupled the odd one, to form the commencement of enumeration, and shuffled these together to carry out numbers to the utmost; they also employed the four operations, to complete the eighteen changes, and used the whole in dvining by straws. The sages also took the mysterious tortoise, and managed that, dividing its marks into five prognostics, and collecting them into four seasons, observing the large or small marks of the ink-brush, and verifying the recondite or manifest cracks of the shell, following these out unto the number of seventy-two, they used them in divining by the tortoise; thus they established these as the settled rules, and called them the methods of divination. Having arranged this, they caused the people of the empire to employ this method, in going forth, that they might obtain advantages, and in coming in, that they might enjoy plenty, whilst the people universally imitated each other, in making use of this method; thus weighing and distinguishing, they urged each other forward, in an unwearied and indefatigable manner, without knowing how they were brought to act thus; this may be called 神 mysterious. Thus it was that the sages could use the mysterious things, in order to construct the scheme of the diagrams, while they opened out the knowledge of things, and completed undertakings.

Thus the word Shîn in the text is, by the explanation of the paraphrast determined to mean something inscrutable, as referring to the incomprehensible manner in which the people are led to make use of the scheme of the diagrams appointed by the sages.

The writer goes on to say,

"Thus the scheme of the diagrams possesses in itself the extreme point of unity, which produced the two delineations, these originated the four rude forms, and from these latter sprang the eight diagrams."

The commentator says, That the scheme of the diagrams, is founded in the changes of the male and female principles of nature, and that the extreme point of unity is the essence of that principle. Originally we must suppose one stroke, this divided constitutes two, the open and the close; the four rude forms are made by using a double series of close and divided strokes, and the eight diagrams by employing a triple row of such strokes.

" The eight diagrams being used to settle the lucky and unlucky omens, from these omens would spring the great business of life.

" Thus it is that, in looking for imitations and resemblances, there is nothing so great as heaven and earth; in noticing changes and pervadings, there is nothing equal to the four seasons; among suspended forms that afford light, there is nothing to be compared with the sun and moon; among honoured and exalted ones, there are none to be put in competition with the rich and noble (emperor;) in providing things and bringing them forward for use, as well as in perfecting utensils for the benefit of the whole world, there are none so great as the sages; further, for fathoming the abstruse, for searching into the minute, for hooking up the deep, and for extending to the distant, in order to fix the lucky and unlucky omens throughout the empire, and render every man under heaven indefatigable and diligent, there is nothing to come up with the mode of divining by straws and tortoises.

" Thus it is, that Heaven produced these 神 物 inscrutable things, and the sages took their pattern from them; heaven and earth produced changes and transformations, and the sages imitated them; Heaven sent down the forms of the prognostication, in order to discern favourable and unfavourable omens, and the sages complied with those forms. At that time, the Yellow river produced the map, and the river Lŏ brought out the delineation, and the sages took their patterns from these.

" The scheme of the diagrams possessed the four rude forms, in order to point out (the mode of prognosticasion); certain expressions were attached to this scheme, in order to announce omens; and these were

fixed as lucky or unlucky, in order to settle (what was to be done.)"

The commentator says, That the four forms refer to the senior and junior series of the male and female principles of nature, (represented by four series of double lines, alternately whole and divided, placed one over the other.)

Thus in the whole of this chapter, the word Shîn does not refer to the Divine Being at all, and is only used in the sense of mysterious and inscrutable, and employed with reference to the divining straws and tortoises, which pointed out future events in such a wonderful manner, that they were called mysterious and inexplicable things. The phrase Kweì Shîn once occurs, as referring to invisible beings, or the contracting and expanding powers of nature, which by their pantings and heavings point out the prognostics of future events, to those using the diagrams.

In the next chapter we read,

"Confucius said, Writing cannot carry out all that may be spoken, speaking cannot carry out all that may be thought; but if so, are we to consider that the ideas of the sages are not capable of being perceived? To this Confucius replied, The sages set up the forms of prognostications, in order to carry out to the utmost their ideas; they appointed the diagrams, in order to discriminate fully between what was true to nature and what was false to nature; they appended certain expression to these, in order to exhaust what might be said on the subject; they then changed and carried them through, in order to shew fully the advantages that might accrue; and they encouraged and stimulated the people (to take advantage of the favourable and avoid the contrary), in order to represent perfectly how 神 wonderfully (the people would adopt this scheme, without seming to know why.)"

The commentator says, That which may be conveyed by means of language is shallow, but that which may be pointed out by the forms of prognostication is deep. When we observe the single and double strokes (of the primitive diagrams,) we see that they include an inexhaustible series of changes in themselves. The changing and carrying through, the encouraging and animating, spoken of in the text, all refer to the business of life (that may be enquired into by means of the diagrams.)

The paraphrase, in elucidating the word Shin, says, that the sages took the pervadings and changes of the forms of prognostication, to urge and encourage the people, to avail themselves of what was favourable in the prognostics, and to avoid what was unfavourable ; and these did so, without knowing what it was that caused them ; thus the mysteriousness of the diagrams was fully exhibited.

Thus it is evident that the word Shîn, in this connection, must be rendered by some term connected with inscrutability.

The last paragraph of this chapter is as follows :

"To notice the transformations (of the diagrams) and decide upon them, depends upon (regarding) the changes (which they may be made to assume ;) to draw inferences and act upon them, depends on the carrying through (of the divining scheme) ; 神而明之 to render them inscrutable and intelligent, depends upon the man who employs them ; to perfect them by meditation, and without speaking to induce belief, depends upon the virtue he displays."

The commentator says, That to mark the changes and carry through the scheme of the diagrams and the sextuple lines, depends upon the man who uses them ; while the way in which such a man may be enabled to render them inscrutable and intelligent, depends on his virtue.

The paraphrase says, That when the diagrams and sextuple lines are prepared, and the straws and calculations set to work, to mark their transformations and determine their omens, is called the regarding of the changes, which changes previously existing in the scheme of the diagrams, are capable of being noticed and determined. Now those who make use of the scheme of the diagrams, when they first begin to select the straws, observe the spontaneous changes of the same, and determine their character, in order to fix whether they refer to the senior or junior male and female principles of nature, or to the forms indicating motion and rest ; thus it is that the whole depends on the changes which the sages mark and determine. So also to infer and act upon these, is called a carrying through of the scheme ; which power of being carried through previously existed in the scheme of the diagrams, and is therefore capable of being inferred and acted out. Those again who make use of the scheme of the diagrams, after having divided the straws, observe what is indicated by those changes, and then infer and act them out in the business and affairs of life ; thus it is, that the whole depends upon the carrying through of the scheme, which the sages infer and act out. It is as if they did not depend on the labour of marking and determining the changes, nor of inferring and acting them out, while 神 而 明 in an inscrutable manner they illustrate the principles of marking the changes and carrying them through, which shews that the whole depends upon the individuals who work the scheme. They collect the

springs of action, and deeply meditating thereon, the ideas are conglomerated and completed in their minds in a spontaneous manner, so that without relying on expressions and explanations, these naturally coincide with their views; this is truly what may be called effecting a thing 神而明之 in an inscrutable and intelligent manner. This could not be accomplished by any one, who did not originally possess the virtue necessary for the same. For virtue is that to which the right course of things always tends; when virtue is abundant in the mind, then the principle that harmonizes with marking the changes and deciding upon the same, is carried out in the use of that which is advantageous to one's own person, and can be well extended to others; thus the sage's virtue comprises the fulness of the scheme of the diagrams, and they are both united in one without interruption; this is the way in which the sages, when they consult the straws for the purposes of divination, are able to bring out their prognostications 神而明之 in an inscrutable and intelligent manner. For indeed the scheme of the diagrams could neither have been invented, nor can it be properly used unless by the sages.

In the above paraphrase, the words 神而明之 are thrice adduced, and in each case the idea given to them by the commentator is that of mysterious and inscrutable, and acting in a spontaneous and incomprehensible manner.

The 2d chapter of the last part of the appended remarks to the Book of Diagrams, begins as follows;

"In ancient times Paou-he (Fuh-he) ruled over the empire; looking up he contemplated the forms exhibited in the heavens, and looking down he observed the patterns to be found on earth; he also noticed the marks made by birds and beasts, together with the suitabilities of the land; as to near things, he took the pattern from his own person, and as to the distant, he selected for imitation things in general; thus he invented the eight diagrams, in order to carry through the virtue of 神明 mysterious and intelligent beings, and to classify the circumstances of the myriad of things."

The commentator says, That looking up and down, towards the distant and near, shows that he took his pattern from more than one thing; but his only object was to verify the growth and decay of the male and female principles of nature. The virtue of invisible and intelligent beings, refers to the firmness or yielding, the moving or resting which they display. The circumstances of the myriad of things, refers to the forms representing thunder, wind, hills, and marshes.

The paraphrase, on the latter part of this passage, says, That the essence of the male and female principle of nature being recondite, constitutes the virtues of invisible and intelligent beings, from which we may infer, that the words invisible and intelligent are employed with reference to the abstruse and mysterious qualities of the male and female principle, which the sages looked to as their pattern, in the drawing up of the scheme of the diagrams.

In the 5th chapter of the same book, the 3rd paragraph, we read as follows :

" The geometrical worm contracts its body, that it may spread itself out again ; dragons and snakes burrow in the ground (during winter,) that they may preserve their lives ; thus (men study) minutely the hidden meaning of things, until they penetrate into the 神 mysteriousness of their subject, in order to bring their researches out into external use ; thus also they are compliant (with right principles) in making use of their studies, and ensuring tranquillity for themselves, in order to honour internal virtue."

The commentator thinks, that the minute searching into the hidden meaning of things, until we penetrate into their arcana, is the very essence of contracting ; yet such study is the foundation of public utility ; so also carrying things out into use, while we secure our own personal tranquillity, is the very essence of expansion, and yet it is the means of promoting private virtue : thus internal and external objects are mutually attained and advanced together.

The paraphrase here explains the word Shîn, by mysterious and inscrutable.

The writer proceeds to say :

" Going on from this (lower attainment in learning) the student advances, until he attains a point which is perhaps beyond common apprehension ; thus he exhausts the 神 mysteriousness, and understands the transformations (of nature), and reaches the fulness of virtue, (or becomes a perfect sage.)"

The paraphrase, in illustrating the word Shîn, says, that the student carries out to the very utmost that which is 神 mysterious in heaven and earth, and inscrutable in the conjunction of the male and female principles of nature. Thus we see, that the word in question still bears the same meaning as in the preceding paragraph.

In the 10th paragraph of the same section,

" Confucius says, He who knows the hidden springs of nature is 神 inscrutably wise."

The paraphrase on this passage says, There is nothing under hea-

ven which does not possess its hidden springs, and when a man can know these, he is one who has attained to inscrutable wisdom and intelligence.

The 4th section of the same book, commences thus:

"In former times the sages invented the diagrams, (and by their virtue) aided 神明 invisible and intelligent beings in bringing forth the divining straws."

The commentator says, that the aiding of invisible and intelligent beings, is the same as assisting them in the work of transforming and nourishing things. The record of the straws and tortoises used in divinations says, That when the empire was tranquil, and good government prevailed, then the stalks of the divining straws were a fathom long, and grew together in bunches of a hundred stems. From which the Chinese infer, that the virtue of the sages caused these straws to grow, and thus aided invisible beings in bringing forth these straws for the purposes of divination.

Thus we have gone through the whole of those passages which we have been enabled to discover in the Book of the Diagrams, referring to the Kweìs and the Shîns, in none of which can we discover the least traces of unity or supremacy, as connected with the invisible beings, so called, and have seen that, in the majority of instances, the word Shîn is only to be rendered mysterious and inscrutable. Let us now turn to the 春秋 Chun tsew, or Confucius' record of his own times, as enlarged upon by 左丘明 Tso-kew-mîng, and contained in the 左傳 Tso-chuen.

In the 3rd year of 隱 Yin, the duke of 魯 Loò, there arose a misunderstanding between the king of Chow, and the count of Ching, which the parties attempted to settle by a treaty, and the interchange of hostages, when a good man offered his advice on the subject, as follows: "When good faith does not spring from the hearts of men, it is of no use to exchange hostages. Let cordiality and concession be the order of the day, while you treat people with proper politeness, and without the exchange of hostages, there would be no separating the parties. If cordiality and good faith are maintained, then the straws that float on streams and pools, the vegetables that abound in marshy grounds, the commonest baskets and pans among utensils, and water drawn from puddles and brooks, may all be presented in offerings to the Kweì Shîns, or brought forward on the tables of kings and dukes, how much more when good men contract alliances between states, and follow them out with propriety, (the smallest assurances will be binding); where then will be the use of hostages?"

The commentator, on this passage, tells us, that the Kwei Shîns in the text, refer to the celestial Shîns, and the human Kweis, or the expanders of heaven employed in bringing about the changes of nature, and the contracted energies of human beings, which are sacrificed to by their descendants.

In the 11th year of Yin, the Loò, Tse, and Ching states, combined to attack the Heù country, and after having gained possession of the capital, the ruler of Tse, conferred the sovereignty of the conquered state on Loò, who yielded the possession of the acquired territory to the people of Ching. The count of Ching then sent officers to take possession of the eastern part of Heù. These, on entering, said, "Heaven has brought calamity on the Heù country, and the Kwei Shîns (in charge of it) not being able to carry out their views upon the sovereign of the Heù state, have borrowed the help of our prince (to punish him.)

The commentator here says, that Heaven having sent down calamities on the Heù country, the Kwei Shîns were very angry with its sovereign, and not being able to carry out their views, and bring him to punishment, borrowed the help of Ching to chastise Heù, for its offences.

There is here a manifest difference observable between Heaven and the Kwei Shîns; the displeasure conceived against the refractory state having commenced with the former, while the latter seem to be the officers or agents with whom rests the execution of the decree of Heaven; but being unable themselves to carry out their views, they borrowed the help of Ching.

In the 6th year of 桓 Hwân, the duke of Loò, Woò, the king of Tsoò, was about to attack the Sûy country, when listening to the advice of one of his ministers, he kept his veteran soldiers out of sight, whilst visited by an ambassador of the Sûy country, and shewed only a weak military array, in order to delude his enemy, and induce him to venture into the contest. The ambassador, receiving the impression of Tsoò's weakness, conveyed it to his sovereign, who was about to enter upon the attack; when one of his advisers, named K'he-lëang, stopped him, saying, "Heaven is just now bestowing prosperity on the Tsoò country, and this shew of weakness, is only to deceive us. Let not your Highness hasten to this attack. I have heard it said, that small states can only venture to oppose great ones, when the small possess the right way, and the great are licentious in their proceedings. Now the right way consists in being faithful to the people, and sincere towards the Shîns. When the rulers think of benefiting the people, this is fidelity; and when the chaplains and recorders of prayer (at sacrifices) are correct in

their expressions, this is sincerity. At this present time, our people are famished, while our prince gratifies his utmost desires; the chaplains and recorders of prayers are proud and self-exalted, during the time of sacrifice; in such case, I do not think that the attempt can be made."

The commentator calls the Shîns, here spoken of, Kwei Shîns, and they probably refer to the manes of ancestors, and the *lares rustici*, who were supposed to protect the state.

The duke replied, "My sacrificial animals are fat and plump, while my offerings of grain are fully prepared, how can I be considered as insincere? To which his adviser replied, "The people are the lords of the Shîns, (which according to the commentator means, that the feelings of the Kwei Shîns, towards any particular sovereign, are regulated by the feelings of the people:) hence it was, that the royal sages first sought to perfect the people, and afterwards exerted their efforts in the service of the Shîns. (Those are called by the commentator Kwei Shîns, and from the circumstance of the nine degrees of consanguinity being afterwards mentioned, we should infer, that the manes of ancestors were principally intended.) Thus the people being harmonious, and the Shîns disposed to send down blessings, every undertaking would be successful. But now the people have every one their own private views, and the Kwei Shîns are without a lord, (or one to fix their inclinations, in order to afford him protection); therefore, although your Highness may be lavish in your offerings, what blessing can you expect?"

In the 10th year of 莊 Chwáng, the duke of Lòo, the armies of Tse attacked the Lòo country: the sovereign of the latter state was about to engage them, when one Tsae-kweï solicited an interview. His neighbours said, There are beef-eaters enough to counsel the prince, why must you interfere? Kwei said, Those beef-eaters are a mean set of fellows, and have no ability to plan distant schemes. Whereupon he went to court, and asked the sovereign what he meant to depend on in this contest? The duke replied, Food and clothing, with such like gratifications, I do not dare to engross to myself, but am in the habit of sharing them with others. The adviser replied, These are small favours, which cannot be shewn to all; the people will not therefore follow you. The duke then said, I do not dare to exceed the usual number of sacrificial animals, with other offerings, while my chaplains announce the true bill of fare (to the Shîns.) To which the counsellor replied, This is but a small instance of sincerity, while great acts of truth are neglected; the Shîns will not bless such services. The duke rejoined, In litigations, both small and great, although

I cannot examine the cases to the utmost, I judge them according to my feelings. The counsellor replied, This is an instance of fidelity, you can just try one engagement.

The Shîns here are called by the commentator Kwei Shîns, and must refer principally to the manes of ancestors, and the *lares rustici*, but it is evident that the counsellor considered exactitude in serving them as not equal to acts of truth displayed towards the people.

In the 32nd year, a Shîn is said to have descended at Sin, (which means, according to the commentator, that the sound of some Shîns came in contact with men's senses;) when Hwuy, the king of Chow, asked Nuy-sze-kwo, saying, What is the cause of this? To which he replied, When a country is about to flourish, 神明 intelligent Shîns descend, to contemplate its virtue; and when it is about to perish, the Shîns also come down, to observe its wickedness. Thus it is, that we sometimes obtain such displays at the rise, as well as at the fall of dynasties. In the time of Shún, and during the Hëá, Shang, and Chow dynasties, such things have been known to occur. The king then said, What shall we then do? To which the adviser replied, Sacrifice to them with such things as are appropriate, and on the days when they approach, also take the sacrifices suited for such days. The king approved of this advice, and Hwuy-sze-kwo departed; on hearing, however, that the people of the Hŏ country, had presented solicitations (to the Shîns) for the purposes of obtaining some better fortune, he returned and said, The Hŏ country will be destroyed; because it practices oppression, and listens to these Shîns.

The commentator says, that the people are the lords of the Shîns, but the ruler of the Hŏ country oppressed the people, and listened to the commands of the Shîns, hence it was evident that his state would be ruined. Because the wishes of the people fix the monarch on the throne, and give a turn to the dispositions of the Shîns, in inducing their protection; the people must therefore first be pleased, and the good will of the Shîns will follow. Hŏ has reversed this, hence his doom was certain.

The Shîn is said, to have remained at Sin for six months, when the ruler of Hŏ, directed the chaplain Ying, the master of the ceremonies Keu, and the recorder Yin, to offer sacrifice; whereupon this Shîn conferred upon him fields and land. The recorder Yin said, Hó will certainly perish. I have heard it said, that when a state is about to prosper, the ruler listens to the people (in making the government accord with their wishes;) and when it is near to ruin, he listens to the

Shîns (in soliciting blessings from them.) For the Shîns are intelligent, clear, correct, and upright, uniformly attending to all these virtues; but they conform to the qualities of men in the retributions they effect. The Hŏ country possesses may bad qualities, what gift of land can it obtain?

Upon this, the commentator remarks, that the Shîns give to men according to their deserts, sending down blessings upon the good, and calamities on the bad; the Shîns do not follow their own private views, in bringing down blessings or curses; but in this respect, comply with men's good or bad qualities. Seeing then that the Hŏ country was thus vicious, the giving of land could only be to promote its ruin.

This is the first instance, in the Chinese classics, that we have met with, of the Shîns coming into contact with men, except in the fragrant or nauseous vapours supposed to proceed from them at the time of sacrifice. In the present case, the Shîns are said to have emitted a sound perceptible to human senses; perhaps some whistling wind, or, from its continuance, some emission of gas from an orifice in the ground, for it does not appear to have been any distinct utterance. The disposition, on the part of one of the rulers of China, to solicit favour from this supposed Shîn, was reprobated by the wise man of the age, as a currying of favour with invisible beings, when he ought to have acted uprightly before the people, and secured their good graces, whereupon the good graces of the Shîns would follow. From all this it is evident, that the appearance alluded to was supposed by the Chinese to have been that of some invisible being, who was capable of conferring blessings or inducing calamities, though always in accordance with the conduct of men, and subject to the will of Heaven.

In the 5th year of 僖 He, the duke of Loo, the ruler of 晉 Tsin, wished to borrow a road through the 虞 Yu country, in order to attack the Hŏ country, when one of Yu's counsellors dissuaded his prince from granting the request, on the ground that as soon as Hŏ was destroyed Yu would follow. The ruler of Yu then said, But the sacrifices which I offer are abundant and pure, the Shîns will surely grant me tranquillity. To which his counsellor replied, I have heard it said, that the Kwei Shîns are not really attached to any particular individual, but only accord with those who possess virtue; hence the books of Chow have said, Imperial Heaven has no favourites, but merely aids the virtuous. The classic also says, Sacrificial grain is not odoriferous, but resplendent virtue is fragrant. It further says, that although people do not change the thing offered in sacrifice, virtue

makes all the difference. Thus it is, that if you do not possess virtue, the people will not be agreeable to your rule, and then the Shîns will not accept your sacrifice. That which the Shîns depend on, is virtue. If the Tsìn country should attack the Yû state, while you offer up your resplendent virtue as a fragrant odour, the Shîns will not reject you? This advice was, however, disregarded, and the counsellor took his departure.

The commentator says, That the people are the lords of the Shîns, (or those who determine the Shîns, as to whom they should protect.) Therefore the first duty of a sovereign is to please the people, and when the people are satisfied with his rule, the Shîns will accept his sacrifice. The dependence and reliance of the Kwei Shîns will be in accordance with the amount of virtue in the individual. Should the Tsín country seek to overthrow and seize upon the Yû state, while the sovereign of the latter takes his resplendent virtue, and offering it up as a fragrant odour, serves the Shins above, and the K'hés below, then the Kwei Shîns of the hills and rivers of the Yû country will not be likely to reject and abhor the sacrifice. Which shews, that it is not necessary to depend on the sacrifices offered by the ruler of Yû, but to practice virtue.

From the above it is evident, that the Shîns alluded to are the genii of the hills and rivers.

In the 10th year of the same duke, the marquis of 晉 Tsín altered the burial place of the prince Kung (or the murdered Shîn-săng:) in the following autumn, Hoo-t'hŭh went to a lower part of the country, where he dreamed, that the prince met with him, and bade him to drive his chariot; while so doing the prince informed him, saying, The chief of Tsín, has acted contrary to propriety; I will therefore ask of 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler to give the 晉 Tsín country over to the sovereign of 秦 Tsín, who will offer the accustomed sacrifices to me. The charioteer replied, I have heard it said, that the Shîns do not enjoy sacrifices that are not offered by persons of the same clan; and that the people will not do sacrifice to any but their own relatives; should you adopt this plan, your sacrifices will perhaps be cut off. I beg you to consider it. The prince assenting said, I will again ask an interview in seven days, at this city, on the western border, at a conjurer's house, where you may see me. The charioteer agreed to this proposal, and the vision was withdrawn. At the time appointed he went, when the prince informed him, that 帝 the Supreme had given his assent to the punishment of the offender, (the ruler of Tsîn) who was to be defeated at Han.

The above represents the case of the ghost of a murdered prince being dissatisfied, and speaking of applying to the Supreme for vengeance: on making his intentions known to one of his former ad-

visers, he is told that Shîns in general do not enjoy sacrifices that are not offered by people of the same clan, and that people do not like to sacrifice to any but the manes of their own family; if therefore he adopted the plan proposed of getting the government passed over to another family, he would stand a chance of losing the accustomed sacrifices; which in the eyes of the Chinese would be an irreparable loss. The discontented ghost then considered of it; and got the murderer punished, while the country remained under the government of the same family. What we have to observe here, however, is that the ghosts of departed persons are called Shîns, while the sovereign of all is called 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler.

In the 26th year of the same duke, the earl of K'hwei refused to offer the accustomed sacrifices to Chŭh-yung, and Yŭh-heung, (the ancestors of the Tsoŏ country, to which the state of K'hwei was attached.) The people of Tsoŏ, therefore, blamed him; when he answered, My predecessor Hung-che (the heir to the throne of Tsoŏ) became sick, when the Kweì Shîns would not excuse him, so that he might succeed to the throne, and he retreated to K'hwei, (of which he became the ruler.) In this way I have missed the inheritance of the Tsoŏ kingdom, why then should I sacrifice?

The Kweì Shîns here refer to the manes of ancestors, who are the protectors of royal families, and promote the one, or set aside the other descendant, as they please.

In the 28th year of the same duke, one Tsze-yŭh, of the Tsoŏ country, is said to have prepared for himself a cap and tassels adorned with gems, which he had not worn; before going to battle the Shîn (or genius) of the Yellow river addressed him, saying, Give them to me, and I will give you some mixed water plants from the Măng-choo marsh. Tsze-yŭh refused, when his son and his cousin sent one Yung-hwang to remonstrate. Not giving heed to these, his reprover said, Some have dared to die for the benefit of their country, and you begrudge to give a few gems, that are only like so much dung, for the purpose of promoting the success of the army.

Here the Shîn, or genius of the Yellow river, was supposed to be able to give success to military operations, if his wishes were gratified.

In the same year, a covenant is said to have been made, in which are the following expressions: "Should any one transgress this oath, may the 神 明 intelligent and invisible beings, as well as the manes of our former sovereigns, correct and punish the offender."

The commentator says, that the invisible beings refer to the Shîns who presided over the making of oaths, who are here coupled with the manes of ancestors.

In the 31st year of the same duke, Ching, the duke of Wei,

dreamt that K'hang-shŭh came to him, saying, That Sëang, (the grandson of K'hé, second sovereign of the old Hëá dynasty) complained of their having deprived him of the accustomed sacrifices ; whereupon the duke ordered that sacrifice should be done to Sëang. Ming-woò-tszè objected to this, saying, the Kweì Shîns enjoy no sacrifices, but such as are offered by persons of their own clan ; what are Ke and Tsung (the lineal descendants of Hëá) doing, (that they do not continue the offerings) ? Seang's not having enjoyed any sacrifices for this long time, is not the fault of our Wei country. We must not interfere with the sacrifices that we have been directed to offer by Ching-wang and Chow-kung (of our own dynasty.)

Here it is evident, that the Kweì Shîns refer to the manes of departed persons, who are said not to enjoy any sacrifices, but such as are offered by their own descendants, who are of the same 氣 breath, or energy with themselves. Should these neglect their duty, it would, according to Confucius, be 諂 merely fulsome flattery for others to do it for them.

In the 15th year of 文 Wăn, the duke of Loò, there occurred an eclipse of the sun, when the chief caused the drums to be beaten, and an animal to be sacrificed to 社 the *lares rustici*, which was contrary to propriety. On the occurrence of an eclipse, the emperor should not have the music struck up, nor beat the drums at the place of sacrifice to the lares, (lest it should look like a reproof to the beings of the invisible world) ; but the princes of the empire were to offer presents to the lares, (as being more honourable than themselves,) and beat the drums in their own courts ; (the first was done) in order to manifest the service of the Shîns, and (second) to admonish the people, that they were to serve the prince ; thus shewing a gradation of veneration, which was according to the doctrine of the ancients.

Here we find that the Shîns are synonymous with the lares.

In the 2nd year of 宣 Seuen, the duke of Loò, the ruler of the Tsoò country, asked an ambassador of the king of Chow, (the nominal sovereign of the empire,) what was the size and weight of the tripods, (which constituted the imperial regalia) ? To which the ambassador replied, It depends on the virtue of the reigning monarch, and not on the weight of the tripods (that they are not removed.) Formerly, when the Hëá dynasty was possessed of virtue, people from distant regions came describing the things which their countries produced ; metal as tribute was brought by the nine rulers of provinces, when tripods were cast with these things delineated on them ; thus all kinds of things were prepared, that

the people might know what were 神 (regular) Shîns, and what 姦 unclean (spirits); and thus when they entered the rivers and marshes, the hills and forests, they would not be startled by meeting with unusual things; while mountain elves, monstrous sprites, with water demons of various kinds, would not come in contact with them; in this way, the use of the tripods was to unite the higher and lower classes, in order to carry out the excellent protection of Heaven.

In the text, the word Shîn is used with reference to the correct and regular Shîns, such as the expanders of nature, or the manes of ancestors; but in the commentary, where the expressions used for elves and sprites are explained, they are said to be 山神 mountain fairies, and 水神 water demons, with beasts' bodies and uncouth appearances; so that the word Shîn is, in the same connection, used in a good and bad sense.

In the first year of 成 Ching, the duke of Loò, one Shŭh-fŭh is reported to have said, "those who break their solemn oaths and deceive a great nation, will certainly be ruined: to break solemn oaths, is infelicitous; to deceive a great nation, is unrighteous; thus both Shîns and men, will refuse their aid, and how can you expect the victory?"

Here the Shîns are those invisible beings, which are appealed to on the taking of an oath, and who, if the oath were broken, would resent it, by withdrawing their protection.

In the 13th year of the same duke, the chief of the 成 Ching state, on receiving the sacrificial flesh at the altar of the 社 *lares rustici*, manifested disrespect; when the duke of Lew observed, I have heard it said, that all men at their birth have received from heaven and earth the due medium; this is called the decree (of Heaven, conferring a virtuous nature.) Therefore in all their actions, they have this for a pattern, in order to perform what is proper and right in regard to ceremonies; thus settling the virtuous nature decreed by Heaven. Capable persons nourish this, in order to obtain happiness; incapable persons destroy it, and get to themselves misery. Thus it is, that those in exalted stations should be attentive to ceremonies, and those in the lower ranks of society, should be strenuous (in the service of their superiors.) Attention to ceremonies is nowhere so much displayed, as in carrying out respect to the utmost; and strenuous exertion is nowhere so much seen, as in earnest devotedness; respect consists in nourishing the Shîns (or placing the sacrificial flesh before them in a proper manner); and strenuous exertion consists in fulfilling the duties of one's station. The great business of a state consists in

conducting sacrifices and war: in sacrifices, the offerings of flesh should be held up; in the time of war, to receive the sacrificial flesh, is a great matter with the Shîns: but this chief of Chîng is indolent, and has neglected his duty; it is most likely, therefore, that he will be overthrown.

Here it is evident, that the word Shîn, refers to the 社 *lares rustici*, who were supposed to be the guardians of a country, and who if properly sacrificed to would grant success in war.

In the 16th year of the same duke, one Shŭh-she delivered his sentiments on war, to the following effect: Kindness, rigour, sacrifice, rectitude, propriety, and fidelity, are the materials of war; kindness is necessary to shew favour, rigour to correct the vicious, sacrifice to serve the Shîns, rectitude to promote the interests of the people, propriety to take advantage of leisure seasons, and fidelity to maintain possession of things; thus will the Shîns send down blessings, and injury will never be sustained; the people becoming wealthy and great, will be harmonious and unanimous in obedience; they will invariably exert their utmost strength in following the commands of their superiors, and brave death, in order to supply every deficiency; this is the way to ensure success in warfare.

The Shîns above alluded to, are the same as those spoken of in the preceding paragraph, who are supposed to grant success in war.

In the 7th year of 襄 Sëang, the duke of Loò, a reference is made to the Shîns, which, being a quotation from the Book of Odes, it is not necessary here to repeat.

In the 10th year of the same duke, the ruler of Súng gave a feast to the chiefs of Tsin and Loò, in which he made use of ceremonies and viands which were peculiar to the emperor, when the former of the two guests became ill through fright; one of his advisers wished to offer up prayers on his behalf, when another objected, saying, "I originally objected to the ceremonies, and the ruler of Súng would employ them; if the Kweì Shîns have anything to say in the matter, let them inflict their vengeance on Súng." After this, the chief of Tsin recovered.

Here the Kweì Shîns allude to those invisible beings, who are supposed to take umbrage at infringements of due order in the use of ceremonies.

In the 11th year of the same duke, an oath was entered into between various states, to the following effect: "Let all those who join this confederacy avoid monopolizing corn in years of scarcity, and stopping up the advantages of the people; let us neither protect villains, nor harbour scoundrels; but let us help one another in calamity and affliction, and pity those who are in trouble and confusion, sympathizing

with each other in our attachments and aversions, while we maintain the royal house of Chow. Should any of us break this engagement, let those who watch over the careful keeping of oaths, the genii of famous hills and rivers, the host of Shîns, and the multitude of those sacrificed to, the manes of the former kings and dukes, with the ancestors of the seven clans and the twelve states, let all these intelligent Shîns exterminate the offenders."

Here it is evident, that the word Shîn, refers to the invisible guardians of oaths, the genii of hills and rivers, the manes of ancestors, and former rulers, who are all included under the title of intelligent Shîns.

In the 14th year of the same duke, the chief of Tsoò asked one of his advisers whether the Wei people had not gone to too great a length, in banishing their prince? To which the counsellor replied, Perhaps the prince had gone to too great a length already; a good prince will reward the good, and punish the licentious; he will nourish the people as though they were his children, overspreading them like heaven, and supporting them like earth; and then the people will honour their prince, loving him as their father and mother, looking up to him as the sun and moon, venerating him as (they would) 神明 invisible and intelligent beings, and dreading him as they do the peals of thunder; how then could they think of banishing him? The prince is the lord of the Shîns, and the hope of the people. But when a monarch distresses the people, and neglects the sacrifices due to the Shîns, his subjects will lose all hope, and the 社稷 *lares rustici*, will have no one to preside at their sacrifices, how then can they use him, and what else can they do but reject him?

Here the commentator says, That the prince presents the sacrifices, and therefore is the lord of the Shîns; he diffuses abroad his kindness, and hence is the hope of the people. From this we may learn, that the Shîns here, mean those lares and manes which the chiefs of each state sacrificed to, in order to gain their protection.

In the 18th year of the same duke, the chief of Tse, invaded the north part of the Tsin country, when a general of the latter state, named Hëen-tszè, marched to the attack of the Tse country. Before setting out, he dreamt that he had a lawsuit with one duke Le, whom he had formerly killed, in which he was non-suited, while the duke struck at him with his halberd, and his head fell on the ground before him; kneeling down, he thought he put it on again, and ran away, when he met with a certain conjurer. The next day, he fell in with this conjurer in the road, and compared notes with him, (for the conjurer had had a similar dream,) when the necromancer said, You will certainly die, and if you go on any

expedition to the east (or towards the Tse country,) it will then be carried out. Hëen-tszè assented to this, and when the ruler of Tsin went to the attack of Tse, and he was about to cross the Yellow river, he took a pair of gems tied with a red tape, and praying, said, "The chief of Tse, relying on his fastnesses, and depending on his multitudes, has abandoned pacific intentions and broken the usual peace, while he has insulted 神主 the lords of the Shîns, (that is the people.) Therefore your minister, the prince of the Tsin country, has assembled his lords to attack him, while I his servant, am ranked among his followers. If we obtain the victory, it will not tend to the disgrace of the Shîns, and I his servant will not presume again to cross this river; thus I leave it with your Shînships to consider of it." So saying, he sank the gems in the stream, and crossed over.

The phrase "lords of the Shîns," is usually applied to rulers but here to the people; because, if there were no people, there could be no prince, and thus the Shîns could have no one to preside at their sacrifices; the Shîns being mentioned in connection with oaths, shews that the reference is to those invisible beings who preside over the keeping of oaths.

In the 27th year of the same duke, Tsze-mŭh enquired of Chaou-mung, what he thought of the virtue of Fan-wŏo-tszè? to which he replied, that his family affairs being well-regulated, his arrangements could be spoken of throughout the Tsin country, without the need of concealing anything; and when his criers and chaplains offered the accustomed incense, his virtue was sufficient to gain him credit with the Kwei Shîns, and he had no cause to be ashamed. Tszè-mŭh retired and informed the king, when the king said, How exalted is he? being able to gratify both the Shîns and men, he can illustriously aid these five princes, in order to become the superintendent of the confederacy.

From the association of the Kweis, we may infer that the Shîns here refer to the manes of progenitors, and the *lares rustici*, who were supposed to preside over the state.

In the first year of 昭 Chaou, the duke of Loo, the ruler of Tsín fell sick, when the chief of the Tsín country sent Kung-sun-keaou, on an embassy of peace, and to enquire after the prince's health. Shŭh-hëang asked the ambassador, saying, On our chief's becoming ill, the prognosticators said, that Shĭh-shîn and Tae-t'hae were the causes of the calamity; but the recorder does not know who they are; I beg therefore to enquire what Shîns these are? The ambassador replied, that Kaou-sin, or the Emperor Kŭh, (the predecessor of Yaŏu) had two sons, the eldest called Yu-pĭh, and the youngest Shĭh-shîn; these lived in a wood, and were

always quarrelling and fighting; on which account Yaou disapproved of them; he therefore removed the first to Shang-kew, to preside over the morning star, and the second to Ta-hëá, to preside over Orion. Thus we perceive that Shŭh-Shìn is the 神 Shìn of Orion; and from other circumstances we know that T'hae-t'hae was the 神 Shìn of the river Fun; but neither of these have any thing to do with your prince's person. The Shìns of the hills and rivers induce inundations, droughts, pestilences, and epidemics, and must then be sacrificed to; so the Shìns of the sun, moon, and stars produce snow, hoar-frost, wind, and rain, at unfavourable seasons, and must then be propitiated; but the sickness of your ruler springs from his conduct, his diet, or his pleasures; with which the Shìns of the hills and rivers, or of the stars and planets, have nothing to do. He then proceeded to point out, that by the improper distribution of his time, and by the keeping of concubines of the same surname, he had brought this sickness on himself, which two things if he would remedy, he would recover. To which Shŭh-hëáng replied, This is certainly the case.

Here it is evident, that the Shìns spoken of are the presiding genii of hills and rivers, and of the heavenly bodies, to whom the ambassador did not ascribe the prince's sickness, so much as to his own conduct.

In the 7th year of the same duke, the king of Tsoo, wishing to induce the chief of the Loo country to visit Tsoo, said, that "the Kweì Shìns of his predecessors were really depending on him, how much more he himself;" where we see that the words Kweì Shìn must refer to the manes of departed ancestors.

In the same year, Tsze-san, of the Ching country, was sent on a peaceful embassage to the Tsin country; when the chief of Tsin being sick, Han-seun-tsze went to meet the stranger, and privately addressed him, saying, Our ruler has been unwell for three months, and though we have visited every shrine to supplicate blessings, the disease is increased rather than diminished. I have lately dreamed that a yellow bear came in at the door of the sleeping apartment; is not this some malicious demon? To which the ambassador replied, Since your prince has such an intelligent minister to practice a magnanimous government, what malignity have you to apprehend? Formerly Yaou banished Kwăn to the Yù hill, where his Shìn was turned into a yellow bear, and entered into the abyss of Yù; hence he was honoured with the 郊 imperial sacrifice by the Hëá dynasty (because Kwăn was the father of the founder of that dynasty;) and indeed

all the three dynasties sacrificed to him. How is it possible that the Tsin country, though the head of the confederacy, has not yet sacrificed to this Shîn? Han-tszé then offered the border sacrifice of Hëá, and the chief of Tsín obtained some intermission of his disease.

Here the word Shîn is employed to designate the manes of a departed person, who though himself in disgrace, was the father of a race of kings, and therefore sacrificed to.

About the same time, the people of the Ching country became alarmed at the appearance of Píh-yèw (whom they had put to death,) saying, Píh-yèw is come; at which word the people ran away in all directions. A certain person then dreamt that Píh-yèw came to him, clad in armour, saying, "Next year I will kill Sze-tae, (a man who had aided in the death of Pih-yèw); and the following year I will kill Kung-sun-tan (a fellow conspirator.) At the time appointed, Sze-tae died, at which the people were alarmed; and the following year Kung-sun-tan died, which frightened them still more; whereupon Tszè-san set up Kung-sun-sëë (the son of the latter,) and Sëang-che (the son of the former,) to be great officers, in order to soothe the ghosts, and the bad influence ceased. One asked the reason; upon which he said, When the Kweis have some place (such as an ancestorial temple) to retire to, they do not become malignant; thus I have promoted their two descendants, (that they might be entitled to sacrifice to them in the ancestorial temple,) and so the ghosts have a place to revert to. When Tszè-san went to the Tsin country, one asked him, saying, Is it true that Pih-yèw could turn himself into a ghost? Tszè-san said, Yes: when people are born, and first transformed, their spiritual nature, is called the 魄 grosser part of the soul: after they have been born some time, the grosser part of their spiritual nature begins to move and expand, and then it is called the 魂 finer soul. When they obtain much authority and subtility, then both the finer and grosser souls become more vigorous; and possessing subtility and clearness, they go on until they arrive at 神明 the state of invisibility and intelligence.

The commentator says, When a man merely possesses subtility, the Shîn, or invisible part of his nature, is not yet displayed; and when he merely possesses clearness, the 神 spiritual part of his nature is not yet blended; but when the subtility is accumulated, he goes on towards the state of 神 invisibility; and when the clearness is accumulated, he goes on to 明 intelligence.

In the above passage the discourse is evidently about the ghosts of departed persons, and to prove that such ghosts

exist, the Chinese reasoner goes on from the consideration of the grosser and finer part of the human soul, to point out the passing on of the spiritual powers of man into the state of 神明 invisibility and intelligence. Shewing that, in his estimation, the state of invisibility and intelligence was nothing more than the refinement and perfection of the spiritual powers of man.

In the same year, the eldest son of Sëang, the duke of Wei, was lame in his feet, and the prime minister of the state had a dream, directing him to set up the younger son; on consulting the diagrams, they were also favourable to the younger son; when the prime minister still doubted of the propriety of setting aside the elder-born, he was told by one of the counsellors, " the elder prince is not perfect in his parts, and being lame in his feet is compelled to sit. Now the ruler of a state must preside over the *lares* and *penates*, must attend to the sacrifices, must manage the business of the people, must serve the Kweì Shîns, and be present at the imperial audiences; how can he do all this in a sitting posture?"

The Kweì Shîns are here used for the manes of ancestors, and the genii of hills and rivers, to which the ruler of a state had to sacrifice.

In the 13th year of the same duke, the king of the Tsoò country had no son by his principal wife, but five by concubines; he therefore performed a variety of services towards the host of those to whom he looked up for protection (viz. the presiding genii of the stars and planets, hills and rivers,) and prayed to them, saying, I beg of you Shîns to select one out of these five, to be the lord of the 社稷 lares and penates; and then presenting a gem before these objects of his trust, he said, Let the one who worships upon this gem be the one whom the Shîns have appointed; and who will dare to oppose their wishes? Having then buried the gem in the hall of the ancestorial temple, he caused his five sons to fast, and come in to worship according to seniority. The first stepped over it; the second passed his elbow near it; the third and fourth were very far off; and the fifth, who was an infant in arms, was brought in to worship, and pressed the tassel of the gem. This last was therefore considered the one chosen.

Here the objects of trust are said to be the genii of the stars and planets, hills and rivers, who are expressly called Shîns. In the same paragraph, there are various other references to the Shîns, conveying the same idea.

About the same time, a counsellor of the Tsoò country made the following statement, " According to the regulations of the intelligent kings, the princes of the empire should annually come to court, in order to record their business; at intervals

of three years they should attend, to discourse on propriety; they should, at every second triennial visit, form an assemblage, in order to display the dignity of the empire; they should at every second assemblage, enter in a sworn compact, in order to manifest a good understanding; thus the record of business would operate on the friendly feeling between the parties; the discoursing on propriety would have its effect on the arrangement of classes; the displays of dignity would be exhibited before the multitude; and the manifestation of good understanding would be displayed before the Shîns, (in whose presence the oaths were taken.)

The Shîns mentioned here are those in whose presence oaths were taken, and who took cognizance of the same.

In the 20th year of the same duke, the ruler of the Tse country had a cough, which was attended with fever; a year having elapsed without any improvement, many envoys from the different princes of the empire came to enquire regarding his health; when two of his advisers suggested to the chief, saying, We have served the Kwei Shîns liberally, and have been excessive in our attentions to the manes of the former dukes, and yet the sickness of your Highness constitutes a ground of anxiety to the different princes; it must then be the fault of the chaplain and recorder (who conduct the sacrifices); the princes not being aware of this, ascribe it to our want of respect. Why does not your Highness put these officers to death, as a sufficient answer to the envoys. The chief made this suggestion known to Yen-tszè: who replied by relating to him the case of an officer of the Tsin country, that had been attentive to the regulation of his family, and whose chaplain and recorder had been sincere in the statements they had made at the time of sacrifice, so that there was no occassion to make any particular supplication to the Kwei Shîns. The chief asked, what that had to do with the case in hand? To which Yen-tszè replied, In the case of a virtuous prince, both at home and abroad there will be no neglect, above and below there will be no complaints, public undertakings will be exempt from untowardness, and the services performed by the chaplain and recorder will be sincere, so as to call up no feeling of shame; thus the Kwei Shîns will enjoy the sacrifices, the country will become prosperous, and the officers in question will partake of its prosperity. When they pray for vernal blessings or lengthened years, being employed by a sincere prince, their words will be faithful and sincere before the Kwei Shîns. But when they happen to meet with a licentious prince, internal and external affairs will be deflected and perverse, superiors and inferiors will be loud in their complaints, public engage-

ments will turn out contrary to men's wishes ; these and a variety of other improprieties taking place, while no regard is paid to remonstrances, the prince not fearing the Kweì Shîns, and the Shîns getting enraged and the people vexed, when the chaplain and recorder under such circumstances present their petitions sincerely, they must say, that it is the prince's fault. Thus the Kweì Shîns will not accept the offering, but will send down calamity on the country, in which the officers above-named will participate.

The wise man, by thus turning the attention from the officiating chaplain to the prince himself, saved the former, and reformed the latter. On reviewing the whole relation we must conclude, that the Kweì Shîns referred to are those usually served by the chiefs of the different states, who were supposed to be able to bring down or avert the calamities of chiefs and people.

In the works of Yen-tszè, we have the following account of the affair :

"The duke was afflicted with eruptions and fever, for a whole year without cessation ; when he summoned Hwuy-këen and Sëang-kew-keu, with Yen-tsze, and asked them, saying, My sickness is very severe ; and I have sent the recorder Koo, with the chaplain T'ho, to perambulate the hills and rivers, and to visit the ancestorial temples, at which were offered sacrificial animals and presents in abundance ; indeed, the number was constantly more than what my predecessor Duke Hwan had offered ; in fact, for every one that Duke Hwan offered, I have presented two ; and yet my sickness continues thus excessive. I intend therefore to kill these two officers, in order to gratify 上帝 the Supreme Ruler ; will this be right? Hwuy-k'hëen and Sëang kew-keu said, It would. Yen-tszè, however, did not reply. When the duke said, What do you think of it? Yen-tszè asked, Does your Highness think the prayers offered by the chaplain to be of any avail? Having replied in the affirmative ; the question was again put, If the prayers be available, then the curses must be prejudicial. Your Highness removes to a distance faithful ministers, and stops up the avenues of reproof, so as to prevent the expression of an adverse opinion. I have heard it said, that your near servants are dumb, and your distant ministers silent, so that every mouth is soldered. From east to west of our country, there are many of the people who complain, and revile, and curse your Highness before the Supreme Ruler. Now when a whole country curses you, and only two men bless you, although they should bless ever so well, they could not prevail. Moreover, if the chaplain were to speak the truth, he would blame your Highness severely ; but should he screen and hide your faults, he would be attempt-

ing to deceive the' Supreme Ruler. If the Supreme Ruler be 神 an intelligent being, then he cannot be deceived ; but if he be not an intelligent being, it would be of no use to pray to him. Let your Highness examine into this matter."

In the 26th year of the same duke, the state of Loo got into difficulties, when one said "I do not know whether this is because Heaven has rejected Loŏ, or because the prince of Loŏ has offended against the Kweì Shîns, that this has been brought about.

In the above passage, the speaker suggests two causes of Loŏ's distresses, the one the supposed withdrawal of the decree of Heaven in its favour, and the other the imaginary offence taken by the Kweì Shîns, at some want of respect towards them, in the accustomed sacrifices ; but it is evident, that the Chinese look upon the latter as a far inferior evil to the former.

In the 29th year of the same duke, a dragon is said to have appeared at the capital of Tsin, when Wei-hëĕn-tszè enquired of an envoy of the Tsín country, saying, I have heard, that the dragon is the most subtle of all animals, (see Genesis, iii. 1.) because it can never be taken alive ; is it so ? To which the other replied, It is not that the dragon is more cunning, but people are not sufficiently acquainted with its habits. The ancients bred dragons, hence the government appointed two officers, called the dragon-feeder, and the dragon-driver. Hëén-tszè said, I have also heard of these offices, but never knew what they meant. What do they really refer to ? His informant replied, Formerly, the prince of Seaou had a descendant, named Chung-foo, who was very fond of dragons, and could tell what they relished, in order to feed them ; on this account, many dragons resorted to him, and he trained them, in order to do service to the emperor Shún. Shún, therefcre, gave him this title of the dragon-feeder ; and the office was continued in his family. Afterwards K'hung-këă, of the Hëá dynasty, was obedient to 帝 the Ruler, (called in the commentary 天帝 the Ruler of heaven.) when 帝 the Ruler gave him a stud of two pairs of dragons, both male and female. K'hung-këă did not know what to give them to eat. At that time, there was a man named Lew-luy, who had learned the art of feeding dragons from the family of Chung-foo, and offered himself to the service of K'hung-këă ; the latter was pleased, and gave him the title of dragon-driver. Hëén-tszè said, But how is it that we have none of them now ? To which the other replied, It is because the breed has become extinct ; when animals have proper officers appointed to look after them, these make it their business to find out such things

as are suitable for them. When the proper officers attend to their duty, then the animals appear, but when the offices are abolished, such animals hide themselves, and being checked in their propagation, at length become extinct. Thus it was, that the officers who presided over the five elements, were appointed during life to high offices, and at death were sacrificed to, as 貴神 honourable Shîns; so also the lares and penates were honoured and served.

Then follows a long description of the Shîns, who presided over the five elements, which we have already met with in our extracts from the Book of Rites, and therefore it will be unnecessary to refer to it again. We see, however, from the above, that the Shîns presiding over the five elements were formerly officers, who had to attend to those matters, and whose manes after death were sacrificed to. We have made the above lengthened quotation, in order to shew what the Chinese fabled about their dragons. Though perhaps it is not altogether fable; by the dead dragons, discovered in mounds and hills, are evidently intended the fossil remains of the *ichthyosauri*, and *plesiosauri*, which have excited no small attention in these later days in England. Discovering the remains of the Saurian tribe, it is not to be wondered at, that the Chinese should imagine them to have once lived during the Adamic period, and so invented a few stories respecting them. In the above extract, there is an expression worthy of note, namely the word 帝 Ruler, as applied to the Supreme, which in the commentary is called 天帝 the Ruler of Heaven, not an inappropriate term for God.

In the first year of 定 Tíng, the duke of Loò, we hear one Chung-ke saying, "Although you should forget this, do you think that the Kweì Shîns of the hills and rivers would forget it?" From which it is evident, that the Kweì Shîns here apply to the genii of hills and rivers.

In the 14th year of 哀 Gae, the duke of Loò, one said, "To have disobedient servants is hateful to the Shîns, how much more to men!"

We now pass over to the 6th Classic, called 周禮 Chow lè, or the Ceremonies established by Chow: in the first section, and third page, speaking of the eight laws for the regulation of cities, the writer enumerates "sacrifices for the management of the Shîns," which the commentator explains by saying, If the regular sacrifices are not promoted, irregular ones cannot be presented, hence the necessity of regulating sacrifices, that they may not get into confusion; it does not mean that the Shîns themselves are regulated.

On the 10th page, we read of "sacrificing to the great Shîns and K'hés," which the commentator says, refers to the celestial Shîns and terrestrial K'hés.

The 14th page, treats of the duty of regulating ceremonies, which were attended to with a view of "harmonizing the various states, and uniting the different classes of people, as well as for the purpose of serving the Kweì Shîns." The Kweì Shîns here refer to those genii of the hills and rivers, and the manes of ancestors, to which it was the duty of officers to offer sacrifices.

In the 2nd section, 4th page, we have an account of the arrangements to be made in seasons of scarcity ; viz. "collecting the people together, diffusing advantages among them, reducing the taxes, remitting punishments, relaxing the requisitions for public service, taking off prohibitions, abolishing inquisitorial inspections, reducing the number of ceremonies, both on festive and mournful occasions, stopping music, increasing the facilities for marriage, searching out for any Kweì Shîns, the services to whom may have been neglected, and severely prohibiting theft." This direction to revive neglected altars, probably refers to the renewed service paid to the *lares rustici*, who had charge of the land and grain, and were supposed able to promote the interests of the people in the time of dearth.

On the 20th page, the chiefs of each clan are directed to "search out for the neglected Kweì Shîns throughout the country, and sacrifice to them." The commentator says, that these are the genii presiding over blight and mildew, who are sacrificed to in the 12th month.

On the 25th page, we read of various kinds of drums which were used in religious ceremonies ; among the rest are enumerated "the thunder-drum, which was intended to animate to the sacrifices of the (celestial) Shîns ; of the spiritual drum, which was to rouse men to do service to the (terrestrial) K'hés; and the road drum, which was to urge men to make offerings to the (human) Kweìs."

On the 1st page of the 3rd section, we read that "the office of the great baron, was to attend to the ceremonies used towards the celestial Shîns, terrestrial K'hés, and the human Kweìs, belonging to the state, that they might assist the king in establishing and protecting the country."

Here the commentator says, that those which belong to heaven are called Shîns, because they are the most mysterious of all things, and invisible ; those which belong to men are called Kweìs, because they revert (to their original) ; and those which belong to earth, are called K'hés, because they point out things, such as the five mountains, and the four rivers, which are evidently exhibited to men, as the patterns of things.

Further we read that, the chief baron made use of the felicitous ceremonies, in order to serve the national Kweìs, Shîns, and K'hés,

while he employed a pure offering to sacrifice to 昊天上帝 the Supreme Ruler of Heaven." The writer goes on to enumerate the different objects worshipped by the chief of the state, such as the sun, moon, and stars, wind and rain, with (which are called the celestial Shîns;) the *lares rustici*, with the mountains and rivers, and those which presided over the productions of the soil, (who are called the terrestrial K'hés;) also the former kings and royal ancestors, (who are called the human Kweis.)

On the 8th page, it is said, that the "productions of the various regions were used in serving the Kwei Shins, and in harmonizing the myriads of the people." The Kwei Shîns are here said to be the celestial and terrestrial Shins, with the manes of ancestors.

On the 9th page, we read of "sacrificing to the great Shîns, and serving the great Kweis, and offering to the great K'hés," all which appellatives are applied by the commentator to the great ordinances, according to which those ceremonies are performed.

On the 10th page, the office of the minor baron, is said to be, "to arrange the positions of the Shîns who were supposed to establish the state, and to place the *lares rustici* on the right, and the manes of the ancestorial temple on the left." Thus showing that the Shîns refer to the lares and manes as above.

On the 15th page, we read again of the great Shîns, which are said by the commentator to apply to the 社 *lares rustici* with the genii of the principal hills and rivers.

On the 30th page, music is said to be employed "to induce the Kweis, Shîns, and K'hés to come:" meaning of course the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, with the human Kweis. In the same paragraph, certain notes and tunes are directed to be played up in sacrificing to the celestial Shîns, certain others in serving the terrestrial K'hés, which are defined to be the genii of hills and rivers; and certain other sounds, to do honour to the manes of ancestors, or the human Kweis. For an explanation of all which see the above quotation from the preceding page.

On the next page we read, that "There are six variations in music; after the first change, the feathered tribes, (such as birds,) and the K'hés of the waters are induced to come; after the second change, the short-haired animals, (such as tigers,) and the K'hés of the hills and forests are affected; at the third change, the scaly tribes, (such as dragons,) with the K'hés of the mounds and tumuli come forth; on the fourth change, the shaggy-haired animals, (such as foxes,) with the K'hés of the grottoes and pits appear: at the fifth change, the testaceous animals, (such as tortoises,) and the K'hés of

earth are affected; and at the sixth change, the substances that had form, (such as the sun, moon, and stars,) and the celestial Shîns are brought near." From the above we learn what the Chinese intend by the terrestrial K'hés and the celestial Shîns, each class of whom are supposed to be wrought upon by the sound of music.

In the next sentence we are told that after the playing of certain cords and symphonies, the celestial Shîns descend and accept of offerings, because their 氣 energies are thereby affected, and they are led to expand: at the striking of other notes and harmonies, the terrestrial K'hes come forth, and regard the services paid them, because their essences are thereby influenced and they are capable of being summoned; at the performance of other kinds of music, the human Kweis approach, and receive the gifts offerred to them, because by this means they are moved and then hold intercourse with mankind."

On the 52d page we read, that "the great chaplain attended to the expressions employed in the six kinds of supplications, in order to serve the Kwe‹s, the Shîns, and the K'hes, to beg for felicitous omens and to solicit perpetual correctness."

On the 53d page, the same officer is directed to attend to the six designations, such as those of the Shîns, Kweis, K'hes, &c.

On the 66th page, we read, that "those whose office respects the Shîns, attend to the laws of the three lights of heaven, that they may delineate the positions of the Kweis, Shîns, and K'hés, and distinguish famous things."

The three lights of heaven, according to the commentator, are the sun, moon, and stars; those conversant with the Shîns, he adds, describe the laws and positions of heavenly bodies, that they may determine in what constellations the celestial Shîns, and terrestrial K'hés, and the human Kweis reside.

In the 5th section, and 17th page, we read, that "the officers who had charge of contracts, looked after the greater and lesser covenants, that were contracted in the various states, among all the people; they first attended to the covenants which regarded the Shîns, and then those which respected the people, and so on to those which referred to land, and public works, &c.

The commentator tells us, that the covenants respecting the Shîns, were those which bound the rulers of different states to do sacrifice to the genii of the hills and rivers, together with the *lares rustici* of the regions over which they presided.

In the 27th page, the public drummer was charged with expelling the water insects, (or mischievous elves); for exorcising which he used a drum made of earthen-ware, with a

fire-stone stick, as if he wished to kill the 神 demon; and when he found this ineffectual to drive the elf away, he also took a beam of elm, with a cross piece of ivory, and sunk these in the water, so that the 神 demon died, and the pool (where the water was) became a tumulus.

Here the word Shîn is evidently used for a noxious demon, who was to be exorcised by the means first described, or if unwilling to depart, might be drowned and destroyed in the way afterwards related.

The next sentence says, that "the purifying officer was to attend to the shooting of infelicitous birds, and animals of ill omen, who could be heard but not seen; for this purpose, he was to take a bow and arrow with which they were accustomed to save the sun or moon at the time of an eclipse, and fire at these monsters in the night season; but if there was any 神 mischievous demon inhabiting it, he was to shoot at it with a half-moon bow and a crooked arrow.

The commentator says, that the Shîns here mean mischievous elves, that might inhabit the animals of ill omen above referred to.

In discussing the meaning of 鬼神 Kwei Shîn, we shall be greatly aided by the analyzation of a treatise on the subject by 朱夫子 Choo-foo-tszè, the learned commentator on the Four Books, and the elucidator of the five Classics, who, by fixing the sense of the standard writings of the Chinese, has created as it were the mind of China, and established a system from which all subsequent writers have borrowed, and according to which all modern essayists must be conformed, or they cannot succeed at the literary examinations, through which alone distinction and power can be attained. The opinions of 朱夫子 Choo-foo-tszè, therefore, constitute the orthodoxy of China, and all who differ from him are considered heterodox, insomuch that some modern writers, who have dared to dissent from his views, have not only failed in obtaining office, but have also been prevented, through fear of persecution, from publishing their lucubrations.

Keeping these things in view, we shall proceed to the analyzation of the work in question.

The essay to which we now refer is to be found in the 51st section of the writings of that philosopher, and is entitled a general dissertation on the subject of the 鬼 Kweìs and 神 Shîns, which words we shall leave untranslated for the present, in order that their meaning may appear the more evident from the views entertained by the writer of the work itself.

He begins by saying,

"That the theory of the 鬼 Kweìs and 神 Shîns, is only of secondary importance, and that, as it is difficult to reason about invisible beings, so it is not necessary to bestow much

thought upon them, but confine our efforts to matters of daily use and main importance. The saying of Confucius, that 'as long as we are deficient in the obedience due to men, it is useless to think of serving the Kweis,' and that 'while we do not know life sufficiently, we must not expect to understand death,' fully exhausts the subject. He means, that if we bend our thoughts towards those present things which first demand our attention, the theory of the 鬼神 Kwei Shins will of itself become apparent ; but if we neglect those things which require our chief consideration, and only speculate upon unimportant matters, we shall be unable to understand anything. "

The above is just in accordance with the skeptical notions of the Chinese, that what is seen and refers to the business of the present life, is of primary importance, and what is unseen and belongs only to the spirtual world is merely matter of idle curiosity, and calculated to distract the attention of the student from more essential realities.

The second paragraph is but a reiteration of this sentiment.

In the third paragraph, the philosopher supposes a person enquiring about the existence of the 鬼神 Kwei Shins, and says,

"How can such a question be hastily settled in the affirmative ? and should we do so, would you be able all at once to believe it ? It is necessary gradually to understand the various principles of things, and then this doubt will of itself be solved. When 樊遲 Fan-chê enquired of Confucius, what was the first dictate of wisdom, the sage replied, 'Attend to the affairs of the people, respect the 鬼神 Kwei Shins, and keep them at a distance ; this may be called the first dictate of wisdom.' If men would but try to unravel that which they ought to understand, and laying aside that which they cannot comprehend, wait until by daily use and constant practice they could obtain a perfect acquaintance with things, then this theory of the 鬼神 Kwei Shins, would be of itself intelligible ; thus to act and wait, is the highest dictate of wisdom."

Here the writer does not settle the question regarding the nature of these Kwei Shins, nor commit himself as to the fact of their existence ; he merely wishes the student to put off the enquiry, until things in his view more important are attended to and arranged.

In the next paragraph, he goes on to say,

"That all important matters under heaven have some great root or origin from which they spring, and smaller matters also have their importance ; which if we can rightly perceive, we shall have no further trouble in the world. For instance, the matter of the Kwei Shins has been very clearly discoursed about by the sages, you have only to make yourself master of

the Book of Rites, and you will perceive how the matter stands. The two Mr. Chings did not deny the existence of the Kweì Shîns, they merely disclaimed the common notions entertained regarding them, while the ancient sages appointed sacrifices, because they saw that the principle of reason inherent in heaven and earth required such observances."

Having thus slightly alluded to the matter of the existence of these Kweì Shîns, in which he neither distinctly affirms nor denies the same, but postpones the question, until the student has made greater advances in science, while he would discard all such ghost stories as are in the mouths of the vulgar ; he goes on to describe the Kweì Shîns, according to the Chinese views of the material system of the universe, of which they form a part.

" 神 Shîn, means to expand, and 鬼 Kweì, to contract ; thus when wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, first issue forth, they constitute the 神 Shîn ; but when the wind lulls, the rain passes away, the thunder stops, and the lightning ceases, they are called Kweì. "

From this we may be led to infer, that the Kweì Shîns are, in the views of Confucian philosophers, nothing more than the expanding and contracting powers of nature ; the agitation of the elements constitutes the Shîn, and the cessation of such movements the Kweì.

He goes on to say, that,

" The Kweì Shîns are nothing more than the diminishing and increasing of the male and female principles of nature, the settling of the injurious and the transformation of the nourishing properties of matter, wind and rain, obscurity and splendour, and such like. In man, the 精 nervous fluid constitutes the 魄 grosser part of the animal soul, which is the essence of the 鬼 Kweì ; while the 氣 breath or energy, constitutes the 魂 finer part of the animal soul, which is the essence of the 神 Shîn. When the 精 nervous fluid and the 氣 breath are both collected in one individual, this constitutes a 物 thing or human being, for what being is there that does not possess this 鬼神 Kweì and Shîn ? When the 魂 finer part of the animal soul begins to ramble, a change takes place (namely death) ; and when this 魂 finer part of the animal soul is gone to wander, the 魄 grosser part of course descends.

" The Kweì Shîns are nothing more than the 氣 breath or energies of nature ; that which contracts and expands, advances and recedes, is just this breath, In the midst of heaven and earth there certainly exists this breath of nature ; the breath of men with the breath of nature is in constant communication, without interruption, only men do not perceive it. When men's

minds are in the least agitated, the movement communicates itself to their breath or energies, and thus sympathizes with this contracting and expanding, advancing and receding principle of nature. Just as in divining, you have the idea in your mind, (of what you intend to do) and the prognostication declares what you have previously conceived, thus you move here, and there is a necessary correspondence there.

" If any ask whether the Kweì Shîns are just this breath or energy of nature ? I should say, they are something like the 神靈 invisible efficacy or spirituality, that is inherent in this breath of nature."

To the enquiry whether the Kweì Shìns have their several limits, the author replies, " that day constitutes the Shîn, and night the Kweî, life the Shìn, and death the Kweì; is no t this a sort of limitation ?"

With reference to the statement just made, that the day constitutes the Shìn, and the night the Kweì, one asks, whether it is not on this account that the Kweìs go out at night ? To which the writer replies, " Sometimes such things do take place, but not invariably. The night belongs to the female principle of nature ; moreover, infelicitous birds (such as owls) also belong to the female principle, and are heard to scream at night."

In the above question the word Kweì is taken in the sense of ghosts, which according to popular belief come out at night : but the answer of the philosopher would seem to imply, that such ideas merely flow from the fact of the Kweì and of night both belonging to the female principle of nature ; while he would ascribe the noise supposed to proceed from ghostly visitants to the screaming of owls.

He goes on to observe, " wind and rain, thunder and dew with the revolutions of the sun and moon, day and night, are all the traces of the Kweì Shìns, (or the evidences of their passing by.) But these are the honest and straightforward Kweì Shîns of open day ; with respect to the whistling about the rafters, or the striking against one's chest (which some ascribe to the Kweì Shìns.) these are knavish, depraved, and obscure phenomena, which sometimes exist and sometimes do not ; which come and go, collect and scatter, according to circumstances. There are also a set of beings, that people talk about praying to and getting answers from, supplicating and obtaining blessings, which may also be called Kweì Shîns, and ascribed to the same principle. In fact, all things in the world possess this principle, but differ as to being either fine or coarse, small or great ; we should also say, that the propriety of calling them Kweì Shîns, from the uses to which they are applied (by nature), may be seen from this. "

Here also a distinction is made between the Kweì Shîns, who may

be considered the contracters and expanders of nature, and ghosts and spirits, which according to popular belief are heard whistling in the wind, or felt knocking against one's chest ; the former being called honest and the latter depraved beings : because to the one constant reference is made in classical writings, while of the other the classics do not even recognize the existence.

Our author further remarks that, The Kweì Shîns are to be explained upon the principle of life and death ; and certainly are not to be viewed in the light that the Buddhists or the common people contemplate them. Still there are some appearances connected with them, which cannot be sufficiently explained according to the principles of reason, and to which it is not necessary for us to advert.

This refers to what has been before said, that " life constitutes the Shîn, and death the Kweì, " according to the expanding and contracting principle, which our philosopher considers the true theory of the Kweì Shins, in opposition to the superstitious notions of the Buddhists ; while the strange phenomena, said to be connected with the subject, he does not care to explain.

With reference to the 神怪事 the strange matters connected with the Shîns, our author says, " It is well to have the mind equably arranged ; if you get it unhinged, 鬼怪 strange and elfish appearances are the immediate result. "

The next sentence contains various references to such strange appearances as had been detailed to the writer, which not having seen, he does not exactly believe, and yet thinks there might be some foundation for them.

Further on, with reference to a certain family, who were said to have seen a Kweì, the writer says, " People who believe in Kweì Shîns all say, that there are such things in nature ; those who do not believe them, make up their minds that they do not exist ; and yet there are some who profess to have seen them ; but these after all may have been some rainbow or other phenomenon of nature."

We may remark here, that the subject of discourse is evidently ghostly appearances, and yet the writer uses the words Kweì Shîns, as synonymous with Kweì alone, in the above acceptation.

Our philosopher goes on to say, " When winds get up, or rain falls, or the thunder rolls, and lightnings flash, when flowers bud, and blossom, what are we to ascribe all this to but the Shîns ? If we not do, it is because we do not examine for ourselves. Should people account what we have above said about the Kweì Shîns to be strange, it would appear that there is a principle in the world of this kind, which we cannot deny ; only it is not according to the usual and regular process of production and transformation. Such (elves) obtain some unusual energy belonging to the male and female principle of

nature, but we have no occasion to be frightened at them. Therefore the sage did not speak about such strange and uncouth things ; from which it is clear, that he admitted the existence of such things, but only did not wish to converse about them. To deny them altogether would be incorrect."

To the question whether, what constitutes the Kweì Shîns in heaven and earth, is the same as the 魂 superior and 魄 inferior parts of the animal soul in man ? the author says, " At death we speak of the superior and inferior parts of the animal soul, but during life these are called the 精 nervous fluids and the 氣 breath. That which heaven and earth possesses, in common with man, is called the Kweì Shîns."

The writer goes on after this, much in the same strain as in the commentary on the Happy Medium, when speaking of the Kweì Shîns, which it is not necessary here to repeat.

One asked Choo-foo-tszè, about a saying of Ching-tszè, intimating that the " heaven was high and the earth low, and thus the superior and inferior principles of nature became settled : after this they became agitated by the thunder, and moistened by the storm ;" to which the philosopher replied, " The productions and transformations of heaven and earth, are brought about by the Kweì Shîns ; thus it was that the ancients sacrificed to the director of the wind, and the manager of the rain." Again he was asked, " when the wind and thunder are agitated, is this the operation of the Shîns, and when they are still and cease, is this to be ascribed to the Kweì ? " To which Choo replied, " Just so : the 魄 grosser part of the spirit belongs to the Kweì, and the 氣 finer aura to the Shîn ; like as in the rubbing of wood, smoke comes out, that is the Shîn ; and the moisture and dampness, that is the 魄 grosser spirit. The speech and action of mankind are the effect of 氣 breath or energy, and belong to the Shîn, the nervous fluid and blood constitute the 魄 grosser spirit, and belong to the Kweì. All burstings out and operations belong to the male principle of nature, and constitute the Shîn ; so all subsidings of the energies belong to the female principle of nature, and constitute the 魄 grosser spirit : knowledge is the Shîn, and memory the grosser spirit ; when people are just born there is an excess of the 氣 finer, and a defect of the 魄 coarser principle ; afterwards the coarser principle gradually enlarges ( as men increase in bulk), but in old age this coarser principle diminishes ; thus it is, that the ear becomes deaf, the eyes dim, the natural force abates, and memory fails. I now feel that the superior principle of my nature exceeds, and the in-

ferior principle is deficient, so that on account of the multiplicity of business I cannot remember every thing : thus also little children have no memory, because their coarser principle is insufficient ; they love to play, likewise, and are unsettled, for the same reason. "

In the above passage we have the 魄 coarser spirit substituted for the Kweì, and contrasted with the Shîn, from which we may infer that the Shîn is the 氣 finer part of the spirit. We see, in the preceding paragraph, also a parallel run between the spirit of nature and that of man ; each being supposed to possess a finer and coarser part, and each being capable of activity and subsidence, of motion and rest, of vigour and decay ; further, as both the finer and grosser spirit of man are essentially connected with matter, the one being the essence of the breath, and the other of the nervous fluids, so in nature, the bursting forth of smoke or fire is the finer and the settling down of dampness or moisture, is the coarser spirit : thus connecting them both essentially with matter.

One asked the philosopher what he thought of the assertion that Yen-tszè (the favourite disciple of Confucius) though dead, was not in a state of non-existence, which statement according to Choo's system, would seem to be incorrcet ; but seeing that the sages had appointed sacrifices for the service of the Kweì Shîns, it was to be inferred that they not only allowed the principle, but that there really was such a thing, (as existence after death.) To this the philosopher replied, " If a man could but get a clear discernment of the rule of right, he would certainly know this truth. The orthodox doctrine says, If we consider the dead to be in a state of non-existence, why have the ancients talked in this manner; and if we consider them to be in a state of existence, I suspect that in the question you have put to me, you have set the matter in a very proper light. "

In the above paragraph, the Kwei Shîns evidently refer to the manes of deceased presons, and the offerings pesented to them after the death of the parties is taken as an implication of the existence of man after death.

The writer goes on to say,

" Viewing their external operations, we call them Kweì Shîns, or contracters and expanders ; but with reference to their mysterious action, we merely denominate them Shîns, or inscrutable ones. The Kweì Shîns are such as the contractings and expandings, the advancings and recedings, the dispersings and growings, of the male and female principle of nature, the evident traces of which are visible : in their mysterious operations they are called Shîns, because they are suddenly so and so, and there is no searching into them : they suddenly advance, and as unexpectedly recede ; now they are here, and again they are there. "

In the above passage the antithesis is between the apparent and hidden action of the Kweì Shîns; in the former case, they have both terms applied to them, as indicative of their contracting and expanding; and in the latter case only one, on account of their mysteriousness; in both cases, however, it is evident that the words refer to those expanders and contracters of nature, by means of which the various phenomena apparent in heaven and earth are brought about.

One said, "The male principle of nature operates chiefly in expanding, and the female principle in contracting; thus the Kweì Shîns are the efficacious or vital part of the male and female principle of nature; this merely refers to the contractings and expandings, the advancings and recedings of the one 氣 energy of nature. Now betwixt heaven and earth, the male and female principle of nature, uniting and scattering, pervade every particle of matter; thus it is that we see them so much mixed up together." To this the philosopher replied, "Just so; but let us now speak of their great limits: the Chow-le says, 'those which belong to heaven are called Shîns, those which belong to earth K'hes and to men Kweìs:' but all three have their Shîns; and yet those which belong to heaven only are called Shîns, because they continually flow and move about without cessation, therefore the word Shîn is solely applied to them: but men also have their Shîns, only while these are still attached to the body are they called Shîns, after their dispersion they are called Kweìs. The Kweìs are those which are dispersed and are still, and have no longer any form: hence it is said, that they go and do not return." The disciple then referred to the celebrated passage in the Happy Medium, and asked, how it was that the Shîns were therein principally referred to, and the Kweìs not so specifically mentioned? To which Choo replied, "The Kweìs are those which are scattered and still, and have no longer any form, therefore it was not so necessary to refer to them; but when the Shîns are manifest, this is the Shîn or expanding of the Kweì; just as in the case of ancestors, when the 氣 energies are dispersed, they become Kweìs. Descendants, however, by the exercise of purity and sincerity, cause them to approach, and then they are widely extended, as if they were over our heads, or on our right hand and left. Is not this the expanding of the already contracted Kweì?

The above tends to throw some light on the celebrated passage in the Happy Medium, shewing us that the presence of the Shîns at the season of worship, which is so expansively pervading, as over the heads and on each side of the worshippers, refers to the manes of ancestors, who are induced by the pure and sincere services of their descendants to approach and enjoy the sacrifice.

Another enquirer observed, that whenever the sages speak

of the Kweì Shîns, they invariably refer to the contracting and expanding of the 理 principle of order: so also when they speak of the Kweì Shîns' rewarding the good and punishing the bad, &c. they still refer to this principle of order. For men with the Kweì Shîns, as well as heaven and earth, are all under the guidance of this same principle of order, which principle is invariably good; so that if people could but comply with this principle of order, they would be lucky, but acting contrary to it, they are unfortunate. Thus it is also with regard to happiness and misery. Who would say then that heaven and earth, with the Kweì Shîns, are every moment to be coming down among men? Thus the Historical Classic talks about 'Providence blessing the good and cursing the bad.' The Book of Diagrams also speaks of the 'Kweì Shîns damaging the full, and prospering the humble;' both of which passages convey the same idea. Moreover, Tsaé-gnò asked Confucius about the Kweì Shîns, when the sage replied, 'The finer spirit constitutes the fulness of the Shîn, and the coarser that of the Kweì.' He further observed, 'All living men must die, and at death return to the ground; when they are called Kweis. Their bones and flesh rot under ground, and are concealed amongst common earth, while their finer spirits being displayed and expanded aloft, become luminous, or fragrant, or depressing; these constitute the essences of all living things, and are the manifestations of the Shîns.' Now since the coarser part of the human constitution reverts to earth, we will not here enquire further about it; but when the sage speaks of the finer spirit, and of the essence, and of the luminous appearances, it would seem as if some part of the man still existed. If it were nothing more than a principle of order, how could it be called a finer spirit, and said to be luminously displayed? But when we look at the Book of Rights, we find the writer saying, 'Sacrifices are offered in order to exalt the finer and grosser parts of the human spirit, which mav be said to have united itself to nothing,' which the commentator says, is non-existence. Another passage also talks of 'mounting aloft to pervade nonentity.' Do not all these expressions seem to be at variance with the observation made to Tsaé-gnò?" To these remarks Choo-foo-tszè replied, "According to your reasoning, then, there are no such things as Kweì Shîns. It is true, indeed, that the Kweì Shîns are spoken of with reference to the principle of order, but you must not say, that there is no 氣 breath or energy (of the departed) remaining. It was on this account that the former kings offered sacrifices, whether burnt-offerings, or drink-offerings, because

of the 氣 fumes proceeding from them; that they might affect the manes of the departed by something allied to themselves. What you say about happiness and misery, good and evil fortune, is all right?"

In the above paragraph, the disciple is stumbled at an apparent contradiction between two parts of the Chinese classics, in one of which it is inferred that something remains of human beings after their death, and in the other they are supposed to pass over into a state of non-existence; from which he would argue, that the Kweì Shîns are merely a certain principle of order, which sets matters to right in the universe, and nothing more. But his teacher checks him by a reference to the sacrifices offered to the manes of the departed, which is of itself sufficient to shew that something must exist of the departed after death, while the retributions awarded by the principle of order, are still to be considered as matters of belief. From all that has been advanced in this passage, however, it is evident that the Kweì Shîns here refer to the manes of departed persons.

One Leu-keu asked, whether ceremonies and music were not confined to the visible, as the Kweì Shîns were to the invisible world? To which Choo replied, Yes; only you should understand these expressions aright; how ceremonies and music may be ascribed to the visible, and how the Kweì Shîns to the invisible world: you must know then, that music belongs to the Shîns, and ceremonies to the Kweìs; in this way these expressions may be applied to the Kweì Shîns. Then pointing to a piece of sugar-cane, he said, The sweetness and fragrance of this substance may be called the Shîn, and the juice and water of it the Kweì.

Tang-këë asked regarding the two phrases, purporting that "the Kweì Shîns were the traces (or exhibition) of (nature's) productions and transformations," and that they were "the veritable powers of the two energies of nature;" whether these were not too strongly expressed? To which Choo replied, "The traces of nature's productions and transformations, refer to the sun, moon, and stars, with the wind, rain, and such like. The veritable powers of the two energies of nature refer to the principle of their contracting and expanding, advancing and receding."

The Chinese ascribe the changes which we see taking place around us to 天地 nature, and conceive that the Kweì Shîns are the agents employed in bringing such things about, by their perpetual contracting and expanding, advancing and receding; thus the sun rises and sets, the moon waxes and wanes, the winds blow, and the rain descends, by the elastic stretchings and shrivellings of the Kweì Shîns; the effects produced are visible, hence the motion of the heavenly bodies, and the various meteorological phenomena, are said to be the traces or exhibitions of nature's productions and transformations, brought about by the Kweì Shîns.

An objector states, that there is such a thing in the world as the Kweì Shîns' coming in contact with men, and since they are frequently seen, the fact must not be entirely disbelieved : how is it then that our school teaches that there is no such thing as necromancer's getting invisible beings to descend, and that although those who are fond of talking about the Kweì Shîns may really have seen them, their statements are not sufficient to be depended on ; either on account of some mental infirmity or some disordered vision. At the same time the books of other schools say, that we must not discredit the existence of 神怪 elves and fairies, lest they suddenly appear and run against us. How is this question to be settled? The philosopher replied, With respect to the existence of elves and fairies, unless among those who are in themselves fully enlightened, there are few who are not misled. The true scholar ought to fortify his mind by correct principles, and thoroughly search into what really does or does not exist, according to the rule of right, and then after a time he will be able to perceive how the matter stands. In the study of books and in the discussion of principles, when a man comes to such points as these, although he may find great discrepancies, he should just lay aside the question for a time, and wait for some future opportunity, when it will not be too late to attend to it.

In the above passage, the whole discourse is about sprites and elves, which many persons say that they have seen, but which supposed appearances, the philosopher would ascribe to a disordered imagination or some ocular deception ; while, however, the Confucian does not give in to the popular belief about ghosts and hobgoblins, he has no doubt about the existence of the contracters and expanders of nature, as well as the manes of departed persons, to which sacrifices are ordered to be offered.

In the next sentence, Choo approves of the observation, that the advancings of nature are the Shîn, and the revertings the Kweì; but he says, " the thunder and wind, hills and marshes, have all their Shîns, and in the present day the *images in the temples* are also called Shîns, all which refer to the energies of nature in their first expandings. In this place, however, it is necessary to take a mixed and general view of the question, that in the midst of all expandings, there is a contraction, and in the midst of all contractions, there is an expanding, and then we shall perceive how the matter stands. The contractions perceivable in the midst of expansion, refer to men, having a 魄 grosser animal spirit ; and the expansions in the midst of contraction, refer to the Kweìs, being sometimes 靈 efficacious, (in answering to the

wishes of their worshippers.)

Here we have the first reference to the "images in the temples," which do not appear to have been used in the time of Confucius, and which Choo-foo-tszè says, are popularly called Shîns, though he does not seem to sanction this application of the expression; and goes off to refer the whole to his usual theory of contraction and expansion.

One observed, The manner in which the Shîns expand may be ascertained; but with regard to the revertings of the Kweì, when they are "as it were abundantly present, as if over the heads, and on each side of the worshippers," is this depending upon the actions of men to be considered the manner of their revertings? To this the philosopher replied, That the Kweì Shîns are all the same, and cannot be viewed thus separately? The enquirer again said, That which advances is called the Shîn, like the rain and dew, wind and thunder, or like the movements or growings of men and things, whose manner of operation may be known; but that which reverts is called the Kweì, which have no form nor manner that may be enquired into, it is on this account that the enquiry was made. To this Choo-foo-tszè answered, When men's ancestors come to enjoy (the sacrifices offered,) this is the expansion of their Shîns. On this subject, Hwăng-keú has some admirable suggestions, which are also very minute and particular; therefore I always tell you to remember well the sayings of former worthies; if you do but remember these, you will certainly get a thorough perception of such subjects. The philosopher then quoted a saying of Hwăng-keú, to the effect, that a man should employ extensive acquirements and deep study, examining thoroughly into all that is suggested regarding heaven and earth, and then he will attain to the right knowledge of things.

Hwăng-keú said, "There is a sort of oneness about the Shîns; just like a man's body, which though consisting of four members, is yet but one thing; therefore, wherever you touch it, there is an immediate perception, which does not wait for any act of the mind, to communicate the information, before the whole frame is made aware of it. This is what is meant by acting upon one, and there is an immediate perception; without travelling it arrives, without hurry it hastens on. When a thing issues forth from the mind, it extends itself to the 氣 energies. Heaven and earth is just one substance with my own body. Hence it is said, that the Kweì Shîns are merely my own energies; when I in my own mind conceive an idea, then motion commences; this energy diffusing itself abroad, will certainly have its influence all around."

The writer in the above passage, has probably some reference to

the one principle of order, which pervades all nature, and affects my own person, at the same time that it influences heaven and earth; viewing the contracting and expanding power in man as resembling that in nature, the writer is led to say, that there is a sort of oneness about the Shîns.

One asked regarding a saying of Sháng-tsaé, that "when the male and female principle conjoin, then is produced the Shîn; so also when the outward form and the finer spirit separate, then results the Kweì; he who knows this is wise, and he who arranges his business according to this is benevolent:" whether the two first sentences did not refer to the expanding of things, which constitutes the Shîn, and the reverting of things, which constitutes the Kweì? To which the philosopher replied, It is just so. Again the question was asked, Does not the arranging of our business according to this, and attaining to benevolence, mean, that when we serve the Kweì Shîns, we must carry to the utmost our sincerity and respect, in order to influence and cause them to approach; in this way practising benevolence? To which Choo replied, Yes.

Shŭh-k'hé asked regarding another saying of Sháng-tsaé, that "if we say they exist, then they exist, and if we say they do not exist, then they do not exist;" which resembles a further observation of his, that "if we possess the requisite sincerity, then the proper Shîns will be present, but if we do not possess the desired sincerity, then the expected Shîns will not be there." How is it then that you, Sir, on a former evening observed, that there was something not very firmly established in Sháng-tsaé's remarks? To this Choo-foo-tszè replied, "The phrase about our sincerity, involving the presence of the Shîns, refers to the results which ought in course to follow our sincere feeling; but the assertion, that the existence or non-existence of the Shîns, would depend upon our declaration, is rather unguarded: he ought to have said, that when the Shîns should be there, and we acknowledge their presence, then they are present; and when they ought not to be there, and are really not there, we may make our observations accordingly."

Sháng-tsaé said, regarding the Kweì Shîns, "if we want them to be present, then they are present, and if we want them to be absent, then they are absent:" the first of these observations refers to the worship of the celestial and terrestrial Shîns, with the manes of ancestors, and the latter to the serving of the manes of those who are not our ancestors; in the latter case, your 氣 energies may be ever so undividedly and exactly directed towards them, but their 氣 energies being scattered, (how can they be present?)

In the preceding remarks, the expression Kweì Shìn refers mainly to the manes of ancestors.

One asked, regarding the doctrine of the Kweì Shìns, "I have frequently been told, that when the 氣 energies approach, that is the Shìn, and when they recede, that is the Kweì. Those connected with heaven and earth, are called Shìns and K'hés, which are the approachings of energy; while those belonging to men are called Kweìs, which are the recedings of the said energies. This doctrine is the same with what Chang-tszè says, 'that things, when they are first produced, have their energies daily advancing and growing; while the same things, when they have come to perfection, have their energies daily reverting and scattering; also that that which advances is called the Shìn, because it expands: and that which reverts is called the Kweì, because it reverts.' Lately, I have seen also that you, Sir, in commenting on the Happy Medium, have quoted these passages. But does Chang-tszè by 'things' mean all things, or only the Kweì Shìns? If he merely means the Kweì Shìns, then his observation is similar to the remark of the Book of Diagrams, that 'the grosser fluids and finer energies constitute things:' but if he refers to the myriad of things, then the first four sentences quoted from Chang-tszè respect generally the principle by which all things collect and scatter, commence and terminate; while the next four sentences speak directly to the matter of the Kweì Shìns. Moreover, Hwăng-keú has said, 'the coarser fluids and finer breath constituting living things, means, that the energies collect and produce men; while the soul rambling and a change ensuing, refers to the energies dispersing and resulting in the Kweì Shìns;' what do you think of this sentiment? pray favour me with your remarks." Choo-foo-tszè replied, "That which the Book of Diagrams talks about things, and what Chang-tszè says about things, both refer to the myriad of things; but the way in which these things are constituted is by the collecting and dispersing of the male and female principle of nature. Thus it is, that the virtues of the Kweì Shìns are so full, that not one thing is divested of them. The observation about the energies dispersing and constituting the Kweì Shìns, is incorrect."

One enquirer quoted the observations of various philosophers, as follows: "Ching-tszè has said, 'that the Kweì Shìns are the instruments mysteriously (or invisibly) employed by heaven and earth;' Lew-she has also said, 'when things are produced, there is not one of them divested of 氣 the finer spirit, now this finer spirit is the fulness of the Shìn; so there is not one divested of the 魄 coarser spirit; now this

coarser spirit is the fulness of the Kweì; thus man is the conjunction of the Kweì Shîns.' The explanations of the Happy Medium say, 'that although the virtues of the Kweì Shîns are not visible nor audible, by human eyes nor ears, yet the collecting and scattering, the commencing and terminating of the myriad of things, is nothing more than the contracting and expanding, the advancing and receding of these two energies of nature; thus the virtues of the Kweì Shîns enter into the substance of things, and no single thing can be divested of them.' Further, Seäy-shé has said, 'The Kweì Shîns are the instruments mysteriously employed by heaven and earth, which flow abroad and fill up, and the effects of which appear wherever we cast our eyes: if we wish them to exist they exist, or if we desire them not to exist, then they do not exist?"* To these quotations Choo-foo-tszè replied, "In looking minutely into these two principles, we see that men and things, with the Kweì Shîns, are severally individual substances, something like the Kweì Shîns that are represented by images in the temples. What Leu-shé says about man's being the conjunction of the Kweì Shîns, is very fine; and the thought is well worthy of being carried out."

In the above paragraph, which is rather confusedly drawn up, we have the Kweì Shîns represented as the invisible instruments of nature, employed in collecting and scattering, in commencing and terminating the myriad of things; man is also said to be a conjunction of the Kweì Shîns, which sentiment the philosopher much admires. The allusion to the visible representation of the Kweì Shîns in the temples, shews that images were common in the days of Choo-foo-tszè.

The next sentence, refers to the reasons why the sages did not more frequently speak of life and death, with the Kweì Shîns, viz. the difficulty of making people understand these principles, and the danger of such discussions begetting delusions; and not, as some suppose, a wish to conceal anything from their followers.

A letter is then quoted to the following effect; "The visible and invisible worlds, life and death, as well as day and night, are originally no two principles; but the relations of the visible to the invisible, and of life to death, are the same as those of day to night. The appearance of the Kweì Shîns as displayed in the invisible world, we must not deny: thus also there is something in what the Buddhist say, about the me-

---

* The commentator explains this by saying, "The Kweì Shîns are a sort of 氣 energy; the movement of men's minds, is also a a sort of energy; thus if we take one energy to affect another, we can make them exist or not as we please;" perhaps the writer means in idea.

tempsychosis and connection with the divinity, which cannot be altogether set aside; but we should say, that a man of superior wisdom ought not to dwell on such matters. To say that such things have no existence whatever, would be wrong." To this the philosopher replied, That although the visible and invisible worlds, life and death, day and night are certainly no two principles, yet we must be clear about their great origin, and examine into the source from whence they come, (perhaps he means the T'hae-keïh ;) and then we shall know that they are really no two principles. If not, then our assertion that they are not two, will perhaps be no other than a covering over or dragging together of the matter, and after all we shall make them out to be two. The Kweì Shîns are said to be the outward exhibitions of nature's productions and transformations, they are also said to be the veritable powers of the two energies of nature, and thus are displayed not only in the invisible world (but also in the visible.) Should we say, that their manifestations are confined to the unseen, it would perhaps turn out that we do not know what sort of things the Kweì Shîns are, and then we should be immersed in the Buddhist doctrines of the metempsychosis, and supposed connection with the Divinity. After all, if we do not thoroughly examine the six classics, drawn up by the sages, and hastily attempt to take what we have gathered from outside books, and come to a conceited conclusion about the whole, we shall after much talk find ourselves very far from the truth. With regard to what the letter says, about the impropriety of our denying these principles, while the man of superior wisdom ought not to dwell on such matters, this is still more injurious to right reason; for we do not know whether these things should be accounted as existing or non-existing; if we say that we must not deny their existence, this is to consider them as existing; if they exist, then throughout heaven and earth, every thing is full of them, without any empty space; and should the man of superior wisdom alone not sanction the idea, we do not know where he would rest his person, or establish his fate. If they do not exist, then all those statements about the impropriety of denying their existence, are the erroneous views of the multitude, and not true judgments. This would be very far removed from the feeling of the sages; and to say, that the sages have no two minds on the subject, I do not believe.

In the next sentence we have a discussion as to whether men and living things, with death and the Kweì Shîns, are to be viewed as one principle or two, which the writer decides by saying, That in the former case, we must consider the

visible and invisible worlds as united, and in the latter as divided. From which we infer, that the writer understands by the Kweì Shîns mainly the manes of departed persons.

One asked, how the Kweì Shîns become sometimes invisible and sometimes apparent? Sháng-tsaé had said, 'that incessant motion constituted the Shîn, and a settling down into a sediment the Kweì;' but although the Kweìs were contracted, after a length of time they must disperse, and thus it would appear as if there was no such thing as a settling down into a sediment? To which the philosopher replied, The manifestation of the Shîns and the invisibility of the Kweìs, Sháng-tsaé would ascribe to settling down into a sediment, which is in the main the right view of the case, but I should recommend attention to the answer which Confucius gave to K'he-loo, (see page 33)

The author goes on to say, that the two words Kweì and Shîn may be explained, either of the dispersings and growings of the one 氣 energy of nature, or of the two energies of the male and female principle of nature. These theories, though different, the principle is one and the same. When men have the Shîn, they are said to be tending to life, and when they have not the Shîn, they are said to be tending to death. These two passages, however, only refer to a state of sickness, and must be connected with what has gone before, in order to be understood.

He concludes the chapter by saying, that the sages have found a difficulty in speaking of the Kweì Shîns: it would not do to say, that they only constitute one thing; neither would it do to say, that they do not constitute one thing. If people cannot get a clear idea of the subject, the best way would be to lay it aside without discussion.

The next chapter treats of the Kweì Shîns to be found in man, as follows:

One asked regarding the principle of order in life and death, and in the Kweì Shîns? To which the philosopher replied, The 天道 way of heaven, or Providence, coming into operation, sends forth and nourishes the myriad of things: first there is the 理 principle of order, and then the 氣 energy of nature. Although these exist simultaneously, we must account the principle of order as the chief; people obtaining this, are born into the world. The purer part of the 氣 breath or energy of nature constitutes the 氣 breath or energy of the man, while the more turbid part constitutes his bodily substance. Knowledge and motion, are the production of the male principle of nature; form and substance

of the female. The breath or energy of the man is called the 魂 finer part of the animal soul, and the body is denominated the 魄 coarser. One says, that the finer part of the animal soul is the Shin of the male principle, and the coarser the Shin of the female principle of nature. The reason why these are called Shins, is because they preside over the form and the breath of men. When men are born, the nervous fluids and vital breath accumulate. Men have only a certain amount of vital breath, and a time must come when it is exhausted. At the period of such exhaustion, the finer part of the animal soul and the vital breath revert to heaven, while the outward form and the coarser part of the animal soul revert to earth, and death ensues. When men are about to die, the warmer part of the vital breath ascends, which is called the mounting up of the finer portion of the animal soul; while the lower extremities become cold, which is called the descending of the grosser part of the animal soul. Thus as surely as there is life, there must come death, and as certainly as there is a beginning, there must come an end. Now that which collects and scatters, is the 氣 breath or energy; but with regard to the 理 principle of order, that is merely anchored upon the breath or energy. At first, previous to congealing and combining, these two constituted but one thing: but in the human constitution, that which agrees with suitability, viz. the principle of order, cannot be said to be either collected or scattered. But when men die, although at the end they dissipate and revert to nothing, yet they are not all at once dispersed; thus it is that in sacrificing (to the manes of the departed) there is such a thing as affecting and inducing them to come. When first ancestors, however, are removed to a distant period, it is not known whether their breath or energy is in existence or not; but those who offer the accustomed sacrifices, being the descendants of the said progenitors, possess after all but one breath or energy, with that which animated their ancestors, so that there is a possibility of influencing and causing them to pervade down to the latest generation. But after the breath has once dispersed, it never collects again. The Buddhists talk about people after death becoming Kweis, and these Kweis again becoming men, (in the transmigration of souls); thus betwixt heaven and earth, they would have a certain number of men coming and going, backwards and forwards, without being produced and transformed, and born one of another in the usual way, which is contrary to reason. With respect to Pih-yèw's becoming a mischievous demon, E-chuen considers this to be a different thing entirely: for when a man's 氣 vital energies

are not come to the time when they should be exhausted, and he is violently put to death, he may become a mischievous sprite; and therefore Tszè-sán recommended that the descendants of such should be appointed to office, that being thus entitled to offer sacrifice in the ancestorial temple, the discontented ghost might have some place to revert to, and thus leave off being mischievous; from which he may be said to have understood the form and manner of the Kweì Shîns. One asked, whether, as E-chuen calls the Kweì Shîns the traces or exhibitions of nature's production and transformation, these mischievous elves might also be considered the traces of such production and transformation? To which the philosopher replied, All the same. If we speak of the correct principle, it is just like a tree suddenly sprouting forth flowers and leaves; these are the traces of production and transformation: or as in empty air suddenly there appear thunder and lighting, wind and rain, which are to be ascribed to the same principle. Only because people witness these things constantly, they do not account them strange; but when they suddenly hear the whistling of the wind, and observe the ignis fatuus, they consider it strange; not knowing that these are also traces of nature's production and transformation, only not in the regular order, and therefore they are accounted strange. Just as the Book of Family Instructions says, 'The sprites of hills are called fairies in human shape; those of the waters are denominated elves of a dragon form; and those of the earth, monsters of the satyr kind; all which are produced by heterogeneous and mischievous 氣 energies, and must not be considered as contrary to reason.' We cannot say, that such things do not exist. For instance, cold in winter, and heat in summer, are according to the correct order of things, but sometimes we have cold in summer, and heat in winter; the existence of such things cannot be denied; only because they are not according to the usual order of things, we account them strange. On this account, Confucius would not speak of strange things; and the student, also, need not trouble himself about them.

Yung-che said, When men pray to heaven and earth, with the Kweì Shîns, they take their own existence and affect the existence of invisible beings, but when descendants sacrifice to their first ancestors, they employ their own existence to affect the non-existence of their progenitors. To this obervation the philosopher replied, The 氣 energies of the Shîns and the K'hes are constantly contracting and expanding, without intermission; while the energies of men and Kweis disperse and scatter, without leaving anything behind them;

only their dispersings and scatterings differ, in being sometimes rapid and sometimes protracted. When men do not own the justice of their death, then though dead, their energies do not disperse, but they become monsters and sprites: as when men are put to death violently, or when priests of Buddha and Taou (who nourish their energies, and get them to conglomerate) die, they frequently do not scatter. Such as the sages and philosophers, however, who die contentedly, who ever heard of their not scattering, or of their becoming 神怪 sprites and elves? Hwâng-té for instance, with Yaôu and Shún, no one ever heard of their becoming spiritual monsters after their death. One speaks of a certain person, whose energies after his death became conglomerated, and filled the whole house with a fragrant odour, which did not disperse for several days; this was occasioned by the fulness of his energies, which produced this effect.

One asked, Whether the Kweì Shîns were not constituted of the nervous fluids and vital breath, with the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul? To which the philosopher replied, Just so: and you may take our own bodies for an instance; we are able to laugh and talk, and have a certain amount of knowledge and intelligence; and we may ask, How does this come about? So also in the empty air, suddenly winds arise and rains descend, and again, the thunders roll and lightnings flash; and we may ask, How are these things effected? To which we may reply, That they may all be ascribed to the male and female principle of nature, mutually affecting each other, or to the Kweì Shîns, which bring about these effects. We see, that our bodies are mere fleshly tenements, whilst within and without there is nothing but the 氣 vital energy of the male and female principle of heaven and earth.

In explaining the connection of the finer and coarser animal soul, with the Kweì and Shîn, the philosopher remarked: With regard to (us) men, the one half belongs to the Shîn, and the other to the Kweì; only previous to death, the Shîn predominates, while after death, the Kweì prevails; which is the length and breadth of the matter. Speaking of their contractings and expandings, with their advancings and recedings, we may say, that that which approaches is the Shîn, and that which departs the Kweì: and with reference to the human body, we may observe, that the 氣 vital breath is the Shîn, and the 精 nervous fluid the Kweì; only their contractings and expandings, their advancings and recedings are all gradual.

Further on, an enquirer suggests, that since the Kweì

Shîn, with the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul, all belong to one and the same body, and are nothing more than the two energies of the male and female principle of nature; how is it that after having called them Kweì Shîns, you again designate them the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul? The idea has been thrown out, that the term Kweì Shîn refers to their contracting and expanding, advancing and receding; while the phrase finer and coarser parts of the animal soul, refers to the 靈 spirituality of the individual, and to his possessing knowledge and perception; or perhaps the contracting and expanding being considered insufficient fully to describe the Kweì Shîn, therefore the schoolmen have united the two expressions, and considered them as but one 氣 vital breath, contracting and expanding, and so forth. Viewing them separately, then, the Shîn is the 靈 spiritual or vital part of the male principle of nature, and the Kweì that of the female; and because they can be spoken of either unitedly or separately, therefore they are called the Kweì Shîn; because, also, some think that they can be spoken of separately and not unitedly, therefore they are called the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul. Or shall we take the idea of Nan-hëen, who says, that the finer part of the animal soul belonging to the male principle of nature is the Shîn, and the coarser part belonging to the female is the Kweì, and then say that the Kweì Shîn, with the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul, cannot be distinctly spoken of. I should say after all, that although the whole may be referred to one vital breath, contracting and expanding, coming and going, yet the contracting part of it is tbe female principle, and the expanding part of it the male principle; the receding again is the female, and the advancing is the male principle of nature; and thus what is called the vital part of the male and female principle of nature, is nothing more than the contracting and expanding, advancing and receding, just spoken of. To all those suggestions, the philosopher replied, The Kweì Shîns refer to the one 氣 breath of nature, which exists between heaven and earth; the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul, respect principally human beings; when the breath or energy of nature expands, (in the birth of man) then the nervous fluids and the coarser parts of the animal soul, are indeed fully prepared, but the Shîn at that time prevails; until the breath of nature contracts again (towards the death of man,)' when although the finer parts of the animal soul and the vital breath are still preserved, yet the Kweì then predominates. When the breath or energy is exhausted, then the coarser parts of the animal

soul descend, and become purely converted into the Kwei. Thus it is, that when men die they are called Kweis. With regard to the assertion of Nan-hëen, I do not recollect the connection in which it stands, and only remember these two phrases; still we cannot help speaking of the Kwei Shîns, with the finer and coarser parts of the animal soul, as distinct things.

This and much more to the same purpose, goes on to the end of the chapter, which it is not necessary here to detail. We therefore proceed to set forth a little of what he says regarding sacrificing to the Shîns of ancestors.

Chow asked, Why are those which belong to heaven called Shîns, those which belong to earth termed K'hés, and those which belong to men denominated Kweis? To this the philosopher replied, This is to distinguish those who possess the pure and clear part of the breath of nature as the Shîns, such as the sun, moon, and stars, which are incomprehensible in their changes and transformations. The word 祇 K'hé is the same with 示 she, to display, and is applied to invisible beings, because of their exhibiting traces that may be seen, such as hills, rivers, grass, trees, &c. which are different from the heavenly bodies (in being more distinct and tangible); with respect to men, then after death they become Kweis. Again the enquirer asked, Seeing that men have departed and become Kweis, why are progenitors said to be influenced and to come? To this the philosopher replied, This speaks of their being influenced by sacrifices; and when their coming and approaching is alluded to, there is a slight idea of the Shîn, or expanding principle contained in it: the worshippers taking their animal spirits to influence the animal spirits of the departed. Sacrifices and offerings are altogether presented with this view. So also when the emperor sacrifices to heaven and earth, the princes of the empire to the hills and rivers, and the great officers to the genii of the five parts of the house, it is all done because the animal spirits of each sacrificer are suited to the objects sacrificed to, and in such case can influence them and cause them to approach. Should, however, the princes of the empire sacrifice to heaven and earth, and the great officers sacrifice to the genii of the hills and rivers; there would be no propriety in it, and the same results would not follow.

Chin-haou asked, Whether a man's ancestors were not one and the same 氣 breath or energy, with the energies that subsist between heaven and earth, only collecting or scattering, according as descendants attended to or neglected the accustomed sacrifices? To this the philosopher replied, This

is the same idea with what Sháng-tsaé said about the Kweì Shìns being present or absent according as we wished; thus making their presence depend on men. The Kweì Shìns, however, are things originally existing, and the manes of progenitors are of one 氣 breath or energy with them, but there must be something to bring them to a focus. For instance, wherever the bodies of descendants are, there the manes of ancestors are also present, one blood flowing through their veins; thus it is, that the Shìns do dot enjoy sacrifices that are not offered by persons of their own clan; and that the people must not present sacrifices to any, but the manes of their own family. But in those instances in which the same breath or energy does not pervade the parties; as when the emperor sacrifices to heaven and earth, the princes of the empire to the hills and rivers, and the great officers to the genii of the five parts of the house; although these objects are not the ancestors of the worshippers, yet the emperor is the lord of the empire, the princes are the lords of the hills and rivers, and the great officers are the lords of the five parts of the house; and when these are the lords of those, then they are of the same breath or energy, which generally pervades their bodies; thus there is a connection.

One asked whether the finer and grosser parts of the animal soul scattered immediately after death, or not? To which the philosopher replied, They certainly scatter. The enquirer again asked, How then is it that when descendants sacrifice to them, they are influenced and induced to come? To which the master replied, After all descendants are of the same breath or energy with their ancestors; and although the energies of progenitors are scattered, their roots are still in existence, so that when posterity carry out their sincerity and respect to the utmost, then they can call and induce the energies of their forefathers to collect and be present. Just like the waves of the sea; succeeding waves are not the same as those which preceded, and yet they are all one sheet of water; in this way, the energies of descendants are the same with those of their ancestors. It may be that the energies of progenitors are already scattered, but their roots are still in existence, and their root being in existence, it is possible to lead and collect their energies also. This matter is of difficult explanation, but men must try to understand it for themselves. One asked about an expression in the Book of Odes, referring to "the three princes being in heaven," which the master had already explained as meaning, that although they were dead, their animal spirits had ascended up and were united in heaven? To which the phi-

losopher replied, Still they may be considered as here present (when sacrificed to.) One of the disciples observed, I suspect that the 理 principle of order belonging to them had already ascended and became united in heaven. To which the master replied, Since the principle of order is in existence, the energy must be in existence likewise. One asked, Whether the sages had received a purer and clearer energy from heaven, and thus it was, that when they died, their energies ascended and became united in heaven? To which the answer was made, This is also the case; but this affair is altogether very deep and mysterious, and people must try and get an idea of it for themselves. Of the various principles existing in the world, some are very easy of perception, and some are changeable and out of the usual course, so that they cannot be fathomed; if we bear these observations in mind, we shall be able to see these principles in a fresh and lively point of view. So also, when it is said in the classic, "the finer and grosser animal soul of Wăn-wâng ascended and descended, and was in the presence of 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler;" if we should say now, that Wăn-wâng is actually in the presence of 上帝 the Supreme Ruler, we might infer that the Supreme Ruler really does exist, but he is not to be confounded with the images that are to be met with in the world.

One suggested, that the Kweî Shîns were probably of two kinds: the generative and productive stimuli of the two energies that exist between heaven and earth, are doubtless Kweî Shîns; when these are influenced by the sacrifices offered, then really existing men influence really existing Shîns. But men at their death become Kweîs, and when these are influenced by sacrifices, then really existing men influence non-existing Kweîs. To which the philosopher replied, Just so: hence we talk of the celestial Shîns, and the human Kweîs. The Shîns are the expanding parts of the breath of nature, and are constantly existing; the Kweîs are the contracting parts of the same breath, and are already dispersed: but when the worshippers, by means of their possessing the same animal spirits, go and collect them, then they may be rendered united and present. The enquirer again said, When not influenced by sacrifices are these Kweîs constantly present or not? To which the philosopher replied, Should they be present, without being influenced by sacrifices, they would only be hungry Kweîs.

One asked, when descendants carry out to the utmost their sincerity and respect, in sacrificing to the animal spirits of their ancestors, do they unite the finer and coarser parts of

their animal soul, or only influence the finer parts of their animal soul, with their breath or energies to approach? To which the master replied, The fat burned in sacrifices is intended to requite the breath of nature, and the libations poured out are designed to induce the Kweis to come, thus the two are united; hence it is said, that to unite the Kwei with the Shins constitutes the excellence of the right doctrine. The enquirer again asked, Are they always thus united, or only when sacrificed to? To this the philosopher replied, Whenever the energies of descendants are in existence, then the energies of progenitors are also in existence, but without sacrifices, they could not be collected together.

The above quotations from Choo-foo-tszè will speak for themselves, and will be considered sufficient to illustrate the ideas which the Chinese literati entertain of the Kwei Shîns.

On a review of the whole of what has been adduced from the Confucian school in the preceding pages, we find that amongst 800 references to the word Shîn and its cognates, the following classification may be made.

1. Shîn, used for the expanders of nature, (in which the corresponding word Kwei, contracter, is in the majority of instances connected with it, either expressed or implied,) occurs 61 times. In all of the above instances, there is a reference to the elastic powers of nature, which are supposed to expand and contract, advance or recede, and thus keep up the perpetual motion, as well as the constant reproduction of men and things. The idea attached in these cases to the word Shîn, connects it very closely with materialism.

2. Shîn, used for the celestial Shîns, (in which the corresponding term terrestrial K'hés is mostly connected with it, either expressed or implied,) occurs 45 times. The meaning generally attached by the Chinese to the celestial Shîns, is that of the expanders of heaven, as that to the terrestrial K'és is that of the extractors of earth. In three instances the celestial Shîns refer to the genii presiding over the heavenly bodies; and sometimes, but rarely, they are supposed from their elevated position, to receive the homage and sacrifices paid to Heaven, while the Supreme Power is thought to resent any slight or neglect with which they may be treated.

3. The word Shîn, is once used for the terrestrial K'hé.

4. We find also the word Shîn four times used for upper Shîns, in which it is contrasted with the lower Shîns, and both refer then to the celestial Shîns, and terrestrial K'hés spoken of above.

5. The word Shîn is applied also to the genii of hills and rivers 36 times, besides which we have a distinction seven or eight times drawn between great Shîns, or the genii of great

mountains, and little Shins, or those which preside over smaller mounds and hillocks.

6. Shîn is once applied to the genii presiding over the five parts of every private dwelling.

7. A very common use of the word Shîn is with reference to invisible beings in general, without determining whether the spirits presiding over the heavenly bodies, the genii of the hills and rivers, or the manes of ancestors be intended; in such sense it occurs 80 times; in one half of these, however, it is connected in the context with the word Kwei.

8. The term "hundred Shîns" occurs 14 times, and refers to the host of Shîns, whether celestial or terrestrial, superior or inferior, who may be considered proper objects of worship, or who may be supposed to have any influence in protecting their votaries.

9. We have the emperor called the lord of the Shîns 9 times, and the same title is applied to the people five times. In the former cases it means, either that he presides over the sacrifices offered to the Shîns; or that he, being the son of Heaven, has a sort of authority over the various genii presiding over hills and rivers, land and grain, wind and rain, appointing them to their offices, and dismissing them from their posts, in case of any supposed neglect. In the latter instances, the expression alludes to the wishes and inclinations of the people fixing certain individuals on the throne, and of course influencing the Shîns in their choice, as to what persons they should protect and defend.

10. The word Shîn is twice applied to the presiding spirits of the four seasons.

11. We have eleven instances of the application of the word Shîn to the *lares rustici*, or the genii presiding over land and grain, who are supposed to have a certain influence in protecting the reigning family of each state; and are therefore to be fought for and maintained, as the Romans were accustomed to fight *pro aris et focis*.

12. The application of the word Shîn to the manes of ancestors, occurs 27 times; which is more properly expressed by the word Kwei, because the manes of the departed are supposed to be contracted and shrivelled up after their decease; yet because by the sacrifices offered to them they are drawn forth and expanded, the term Shîn is not unfrequently applied to them. Eight instances occur of the word Shîn being applied to the manes of sages or departed worthies, who are worshipped by their disciples. In one case, the word honourable is prefixed to Shîn, when it is applied to the manes of deceased officers.

13. In 33 instances, we find the word Shîn applied to the

finer part of the human soul, which expands and ascends at death and which may be collected and brought to a focus by the services of successors, as the Kwei is made to expand by a similar means.

14. In one instance, the word Shîn must be rendered ghost; in four instances, it is synonymous with fairies and elves, and in four more must be translated mischievous demons ; but these are meanings attached to it in later ages, since the superstitious fears of the multitude, aided by the Buddhists, had conjured up a host of imaginary beings.

15. In two instances, we find the word Shîn coupled with "resemblance," and used with reference to the representative of the dead, on occasions of sacrificing to ancestors ; and the word Shîn, is four times coupled with "surety" to convey the same idea. In one instance, in the work of a later writer, we find the word Shîn applied to the images in temples.

16. We have also a whole class of passages, in which Shîn must be taken adjectively ; in 29 of which it conveys the idea of inscrutable, in 25 that of mysterious, in 7 that of inscrutably intelligent, in 2 that of spiritual, in two that of wonderfully spontaneous, and in two more that of invisibly efficacious. In all these cases, we cannot help perceiving that the Chinese attach higher ideas to the word Shîn, then when they employ it to mean the expanders of nature, celestial agents, or terrestrial genii; sometimes giving it in this connection a turn something like spiritual or supernatural, and farther removed from anything material, than in any instances yet cited; yet the commentators in these connections are uniform in attaching the idea of inscrutability to the word.

17. In one instance, a later writer talks about a certain oneness as connected with the Shîns, because the word is used in connection with the energy of nature, which is sometimes represented as single, and in this case has some similarity to the term *anima mundi*, used by western writers.

18. On one occasion, a later writer puts the hypothesis, that if the Supreme Ruler be a Shîn, he would be able to detect hypocritical performances , in which case the meaning to be attached to the word, is probably that of 靈 spirituality or efficaciousness. Among the comments on the Book of Odes, which will afterwards be referred to, the Supreme Ruler is called the Shîn of Heaven, or the collection of all the spiritual essences of nature into one; in which case we must render the word Shîn by "invisible and intelligent being."

19. The word Shîn is sometimes used as a verb, and means

in one instance, to honour as a Shîn, and in another, to bring into contact with invisible beings.

20. The word Shîn is used by the writers of epitaphs in the sense of unnameable, when any ruler has been so good or so bad, as that no term can be found sufficient to describe him.

21. It is also used as a surname, and, with a variation of tone, as a part of the name of a spirit of the deep.

The above are all the instances in which Shîn has been met with as used alone. In connection with other terms, we meet with the following:

22. Shîn-mîng occurs fifteen times, as referring to invisible and intelligent beings.

23. Shîn-mîng is applied nine times to the manes of ancestors.

24. Shîn-mîng is five times used as an adjective, meaning inscrutable and intelligent.

25. Shîn-mîng is used twice as a verb, implying to render inscrutable. In all which cases the compound term is similar to the simple word Shîn as already referred to in articles 7, 12, and 16.

The word Shîn is, however, most frequently found in connection with Kweì, which it is made to follow; this arrangement seems to have rather an allusion to the dual system of the universe, invented by the Chinese, than to any supposed inferiority of the Shîn to the Kweì. Thus the Kweì, being supposed to belong to the female principle of nature, which is characterized by stillness, is put before the Shîn, which belongs to the male principle of nature, and is descriptive of activity; in the same manner as the 陰 yin is put before the 陽 yâng, the 牝 pin before the 牡 mow, and the 雌 tsze before the 雄 heûng, in each of which cases the feminine precedes the masculine gender. We may here remark, also, that in the Confucian classics, the Kweì is never spoken of disparagingly, but always with as much honour as is put upon the Shîn; and it is only later writers that have applied the word Kweì to ghosts and demons, which we find to be the case in some of them with the word Shîn. Having premised these observations, we shall give the instances in which Kweì and Shîn occur together in the preceding pages.

26. Kweì Shîn occur as the expanders and contracters of nature 76 times in the quotations already made, and in each case, the meaning attached to the words is the same as that applied to art. 1, of the present arrangement.

27. The words Kweì Shîn apply to invisible beings in general 145 times in the preceding pages. By a reference to

the places where the words occur, we shall find that the Chinese do not by any means attach a definite meaning to the Kwei Shins, but consider them as embracing most of the ideas which we have seen may be applied to the Shîns; thus they take the Kwei Shîns to mean collectively, both the expanders and contracters of nature; the invisible beings who are the objects of worship, and are supposed to protect or injure, to reward or punish mankind; together with the manes of departed persons, and the genii of hills and rivers, all in one; we have endeavoured to separate them in this arrangement, where the contest warrants it; but generally the ideas to be attached to the term are rather of the mixed kind. This class is similar to No. 7.

28. The words Kweì Shîn are in 13 instances, applied to the genii of hills and rivers, who are supposed to control winds and rain, and are consequently applied to both by mariners and husbandmen in their distress. This use of the words is similar to No. 5 in the present arrangement.

29. The words Kweì Shîn are applied 52 times to the manes of ancestors, as in No. 12.

30. The same term is attached 18 times to the spiritual constitution of man, principally after death; as well as to the various parts of the human body, whilst men are alive, as in No. 13.

31. The words Kweì Shîn are used 7 times with reference to those genii that are supposed to preside over prognostications.

32. Kweì Shîn is applied once to the genius presiding over blight and mildew.

33. The Kweì Shîns are twice considered as but of secondary importance, and in seven instances are directed to be kept at a distance.

34. The word Kweì Shîn is seven times applied to ghosts and elves.

35. The word Kweì Shîn is twice used with reference to images in the temples, but those instances occur only in subsequent writers.

In no instance, however, among the writers of the school of Confucius, do we find the word Shîn applied to the Supreme God, and never so used by them as to make it necessary for us to translate it by *God*, in giving the sense of the classics, according to the commentators. The main idea is that of the expanders and contracters of nature, who, under the authority and direction of a higher power, attend to the bringing forth and nourishing of men and things, the rising and setting of heavenly bodies, the blowing of winds, the falling of rains, the rolling of thunder, and the flashing of light-

ning; while they are supposed to be influenced by sacrifices, and to afford protection to nations and individuals, but always subject to the will of a superior, and never are they represented as acting independently and supremely, uncontrollably and ultimately. They are not, therefore, according to the showing of the Chinese, gods, but subordinate spirits, agents, genii, and manes.

In the 道德經 Taóu tíh king, ascribed to Laou-tszè, the founder of the Sect of Taóu, we have a few references to the Shîns, as follows:

In the 5th chapter we read,

"To cultivate inanity, up to the point of 神 pure spirituality, until a man attains immortality, is called the perfection of productiveness."

The commentator says, when inanity is cultivated so as to reach vacuity, there is still something of form remaining; but when inanity is cultivated up to the point of pure spirituality, then there is vacuity without form. Vacuity without form, has no life in it, how then can it be capable of death? In speaking of cultivating inanity so as to attain spirituality, reference is made to the virtue of the individual. In speaking of the perfection of productiveness, reference is made to his work and merit. The productive power brings forth the myriad of things; and it is called perfect productiveness, because though we see the things produced, we do not see how they are produced.

Another commentator says, Inanity means emptiness, when perfect emptiness of thought is attained, the 神 feeling of pure spirituality is maintained within. Hence the expression empty spirituality. Emptiness is the place of the centre of the mind: and that which maintains it is the spirituality. Immortality refers to the original energy always surviving and never dying. The word productiveness, or mother, sets forth the tenderness and pliability of the original energies; to which is added the word perfect, in order to express admiration of it. Perfect productiveness is the mother of the myriad of things. The being whom Chwang-tszè denominates the 太一, Perfect One, may here perhaps be called the spiritual Precious One, who is the Lord of the later heavens.

The next sentence run thus:

"The door, or opening out, of perfect productiveness, may be called the root of heaven and earth."

Upon which the commentator remarks, The door, or opening out, of perfect productiveness, means that the myriad of things springs from hence, and that heaven and earth are produced from this also.

Another commentator says, The door is the medium of egress; and the root is that from which any thing springs. Emptiness and nothingness, with the spontaneousness of action, is that from which heaven and earth were produced; hence it is called the root of heaven and earth. The root of heaven and earth, is the beginning of heaven

and earth. That which Chwang-tsze talks about eternal nonentity, may perhaps here be denominated the prime beginning, or the ancestor of the former heavens.

The above two sentences have cost the translator much trouble in decyphering, and many Chinese students at first sight would perhaps disagree with the view above given of them: but we must remember that the Taou sect uses words in an entirely different acceptation from the other religionists; and the patient enquirer, by consulting the Imperial Dictionary under the different words, will see that the above is almost the only construction that can be put upon the terms used here. The idea seems to be, that when the ascetic can so attenuate his body, and empty his mind, that he becomes extremely vacuous, and approaches to pure spirituality, he may then be considered as capable of producing the myriad of things; because nature itself springs from this extreme vacuity, and emptiness is the root of all things. Let not the reader be startled at the idea of the ascetic being considered the producer of nature, for it is a very common thing with the Chinese to elevate their sages to an equality with, and in some instances to a superiority over, heaven and earth. With regard to the word Shin in this sentence we need only remark, that it means nothing more than the state of pure spirituality, which is the result of the emptiness to which the ascetic may attain, by a due subjection of his animal to his spiritual powers.

"When a man can bring into subjection the sensitive and rational soul, and hold fast the oneness (of his spiritual nature,) he may perhaps be able to maintain an inseparable union between them."

On this the commentator remarks, That in which the 魄 sensitive soul differs from the 魂 rational is, that the former is 物 matter, and the latter 神 spirit. The Book of Diagrams says, "That the animal fluids and vital breath unite to constitute living things, but when the finer part of the animal soul begins to wander, then a change ensues; from this we may know the form and manner of the Kwei Shins." The sensitive soul consists of 物 matter, therefore it is mixed and disposed to settle; the rational soul is 神 spirit, therefore it is single and capable of change. Speaking of the sensitive soul, reference is made to its settling down. For 道 the rule of right is everywhere present; in man it constitutes his perfect nature, and the most mysterious part of his nature is its 神 spirituality; speaking of its pure and unadulterated character, it is called single; speaking of its being collected and not scattered, it is called solid, but the point to which both these revert is the 道 rule of right; while each is spo-

ken of according to the qualities which it really possesses. The sages have their virtuous nature fixed, and their 神 spirituality congealed, and therefore are not moved by external things; thus although they temporarily lodge in their sensitive soul, yet their sensitive soul invariably complies with whatever the 神 spirit desires, thus the spirit brings into subjection the sensitive soul. Men in general allow external things to bring their virtuous nature into bondage, while their 神 spirits are beclouded, and badly regulated; thus their spirits are subservient to their sensitive souls; their ears and eyes are enslaved by sound and colour, their noses and mouths are subject to the influence of taste and smell, so that their spirits follow that which the sensitive soul desires, and the sensitive soul brings their spirits into subjection. On this account, men are taught to hold fast their spiritual nature, and to bring into subjection their sensitive soul, causing them both to be inseparably united, which is the most important thing that the sages attend to in the cultivation of personal virtue. With regard to the perfect men of former times, they struck deep their roots, and strengthened their stems, while they attained to prolonged existence and matured experience, and in so doing the principle of right which they possessed sprang up.

Another commentator gives the following meaning to the passage just cited; "(The spirit) is superadded to the fortified residence of the sensitive soul, and while these embrace and hold fast the principle of unity, they may perhaps be able to avoid separation." 載 Tsaé (rendered by the preceding commentator *bring into subjection*) is explained by this one to mean *superadd*. The animal soul is a camp, like the encampment of an army: the rational soul is the garrison, like a garrison of soldiers. A camp is intended for the residence of troops. Thus the 神 spirit is added to the sensitive soul, and the sensitive soul embraces the spirit; these two being intimately connected without separation, may, like the sun and moon, attain to perpetual preservation through endless ages. In this way the men who rise above the world also are able to preserve their outward forms entire.

The writer goes on to say,

"When men bestow undivided attention on (the subjection of) their 氣 boisterous energies, so as to render them 柔 supple and yielding, they may perhaps be able to imitate little children."

The commentator says, When the 神 spirit is badly regulated, then the energies become confused. Those who possess more vigorous energies are fond of contention, while those who possess weaker energies, are disposed to cherish fear, without either of them being aware of it. When the 神 spirit is well regulated, however, the energies do not act disorderly, while joy and anger are both displayed, according to their various requirements; this is what is called bestowing undivided attention upon (the subjection of) one's energies.

神 Spirituality is the extreme point of emptiness ; the 氣 energies are placed at the commencement of solidity. The essence of emptiness is 柔 flexibility, the essence of solidity is 剛 hardness. To keep unadulterated one's virtuous nature, and to reduce to nothing one's boisterous energies, is called the extreme of flexibility. Children do not know the difference between love and hatred, thus their virtuous nature is preserved entire ; their virtuous nature being preserved entire, their energies are insignificant ; while their energies are insignificant, their bodies are also supple ; thus to bend one's sole attention to (the subjection of) our boisterous energies, until they become supple and yielding, like those of little children, constitutes the height of human attainment.

Another commentator says, To bestow one's whole attention on the (subjection) of our internal energies, and smoke and soak the flesh and bones, until we render them extremely soft and brittle, like those of an infant in its mother's womb, this is the way in which men who rise above the world are able to preserve their energies.

It is evident that, in the above extracts, the writer uses the word 神 Shîn in the sense of human spirit, as distinct from the 魄 sensitive, and 魂 rational soul. The attentive reader will perceive that we have rendered these two latter terms somewhat differently from what we translated them in giving extracts from the classical writings of the sect of the learned ; but we have so done, because we conceive, that the adherents of Taou hold different views on the subject from the followers of Confucius. It will be seen also, that we have given a different term for Shîn, as occurring in this book, from what was attached to it in those, because the Taouists do not annex the same idea to the word Shîn as the Confucians do, but understand it of something more allied to pure spirit.

In the 2nd section, and 25th chapter of the Taou-tĭh-king, we have the following observations :

" When a man wishes to grasp hold of the empire, and work it, I have seen instances of utter failure."

The commentator says, That when a sage obtains possession of the empire, he does not grasp it ; all things revert to him, and he has no resource but simply to receive them. So when a sage governs the empire, he does not work it ; he simply follows the spontaneousness of things, and removes injuries out of the way. Should a man wish to grasp and work it up, he would not succeed.

Another commentator says, To grasp hold of the empire means, to gratify the people of the empire, and make them revert to one's-self. To work it, means to labour at it. In order to obtain possession of the empire, a man's virtue must be perfect, and men would of themselves revert to him ; but if a man attempts to work the thing, he makes use of force and cunning to subdue the empire, how then can he succeed in getting the empire to revert to him.

The next sentence is follows :

" The empire is an implement under the guidance of 神

invisible beings, and it cannot be worked. The man who attempts to work it, spoils it; and he who seeks to retain it, by over caution, loses it."

One commentator says, No business should be laboured at: (even in small communities) where only a hundred people are collected together, if you do not comply with what they spontaneously prefer, but wrongly attempt to work yourself into the management of affairs, there will certainly be mutterings, how much more with respect to the empire? In little matters, and in small gatherings, it may still be proper to employ vigor in getting hold of, and cunning in grasping, but the great affairs of the empire, are under the management of 神 invisible beings; so that if a man does not wait for the people to revert to him spontaneously, they will rebel; and if he does not allow things in a great measure to manage themselves, there will be confusion.

Another commentator says, The empire is an immense implement, under the management of 神 invisible beings, and must not be sought possession of by the employment of force or cunning. Spoiling, means to fail of accomplishing; the man who seeks to obtain (the empire) by force or cunning, wishes to accomplish the affair, and the affair on the contrary not being accomplished, means that he cannot get the empire to revert and submit to him: hence it is said, that the man who works it, spoil it. When a man has not yet got hold of the empire, and wishes to obtain it, he certainly must not work the matter, in order to get it; so also, having obtained the empire, when a man wishes to keep it, he also should avoid exerting his mind in order to retain it.

There is nothing, either in the text or commentary of the above passage, to determine what invisible beings are meant by the Shins, who have the great affairs of the empire under their management. The expression 神 器 shîn k'hé is, however. brought into use as a phrase to denote the regalia of the empire. See a subsequent part of this essay treating of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler.

In the 3rd section of the same work, we read,

"Those which originally obtained (the principle of) unity are the following; heaven, which obtained it, in order to become pure; earth, which obtained it, in order to become still; 神 spirituality, which obtained it, in order to become 靈 efficacious; empty space, which obtained it, in order to become full; the myriad of things, which obtained it, in order to spring forth into being; and virtuous rulers, who obtained it, in order to become the main stem of the empire. But that which carries out these to the utmost, is this (one principle of) unity."

The commentator says, The principle of unity here referred to is

道 Taóu, or the fitness of things. The way in which things are constituted existences, is by this Taóu; the people of the world only look at things as they are, and forget the principle of fitness by which they are constituted; they merely know that heaven is pure, and that earth is still, and that spirituality is efficacious, and that space becomes replete, and that all things are reproduced, and that virtuous rulers are the main stem of the empire; but they do not know that the reason of their obtaining all these, is because the fitness of things is maintained among them.

Another commentator says, The principle of unity, refers to the attainment of mounting up into vacuity, (and becoming nothing.) It conveys the same idea with the words of a former section, when speaking of embracing the principle of unity; or with another, which speaks of carrying out the principle of unity, or with a subsequent chapter, which speaks of 道 the fitness of things producing the principle of unity, all which refer to the same thing. Chwang-tszè calls it the 太一 Great One, and sometimes merely speaks of it as the One. This is produced by the spontaneous effort of the Taóu, or fitness of things. This unity carried out into use is empty and not full: it is subsequent (to the fitness of things) and not prior, it is soft and not hard, it is flexible and not boisterous. Former chapters have frequently spoken of it, and this chapter exhibits all its luxuriance. Obtaining it, means to obtain this principle of unity; "in order to" means that the qualities alluded to are thus attained. The four things mentioned, viz. heaven, earth, spirituality, and emptiness, have different names, but are really the same. That which turns about and revolves, while it is pure and clear, is called heaven; that which congeals and collects, while it is peaceful and still, is called earth; spirituality, is the mysteriousness of the two principles of nature, which exist between heaven and earth; which Chang-tszè refers to, when he says, that the two principles are there present, (without our being able to ascertain which is which) hence its inscrutability; in use this spirituality corresponds to those things which affect it, without being limited by space, hence its efficaciousness. Emptiness, is the empty space between heaven and earth; which Chang-tszè calls pure vacuity, which is none other than the energy of nature; this energy fills up all space without exception, hence it is said to be full. The main stem refers to the principal stem of a tree; to be the main stem of the empire, is the same as to call one the most important among the people. It means that heaven's pureness, and earth's stillness, spirituality's efficaciousness, and space's replenishing, together with the perpetual reproduction of the myriad of things without end, and the establishment of kings and rulers over the whole empire, to be chief among the people,—that the way in which all this is effected, is from obtaining this one principle of unity.

We have rendered 神 Shin in the above passage, by the word spirituality, because it is put in connection with empty space, and according to the ideas of the Taouists, the process is from mere inanity to pure spirituality, in order to the at-

tainment of excellence.

The next sentence is as follows:

"Were not heaven to obtain this principle of unity, in order to become pure, it might be rent asunder; were not earth to obtain it, in order to become still, it might be agitated; were not spirituality to obtain it, in order to become efficacious, it might be exhausted; were not space to obtain it, in order to become replete, it might cease to exist; were not the myriad of things to obtain it, in order to be perpetually reproduced, they might soon be exterminated; and were virtuous rulers not to obtain it in order to become the main stem of the empire, their nobility and exalted rank might soon become contracted."

The commentator says, That were heaven not to obtain this principle of unity, it would not suddenly rend asunder; and were earth not to obtain it, it might not be directly agitated; spirituality, without it, might not forthwith become exhausted; space, without it, might not instantly cease to exist; the myriad of things, without it, might not be soon exterminated; and virtuous rulers, without it, might not be hastily contracted; but yet the utter extinction of this principle of unity, would certainly result in the effects detailed.

Another commentator says, Not to obtain it, in order to do so and so, means, that without this virtue, the results mentioned would follow. To rend asunder, means to separate and divide; to be agitated, means to be moved; to be exhausted, refers to a want of power to correspond and become efficacious, when influenced by any: to cease to exist, implies an inability to become replete and full; to be exterminated, means to become extinct without being reproduced; to be contracted, means to be overthrown and lose the empire.

Here it is evident, that the word Shîn, must be rendered as in the preceding sentence.

In the 4th section of the same book, we read,

"When the good man superintends the empire according to Taóu, or the principle of right, the 鬼 Kweis, (or energies of nature) will not 神 become Shîns (or sprites and demons); it is not that the Kweis will not become Shîns (sprites,) so much as that the Shîns (sprites) will not injure men; it is not that the Shîns (sprites) will not injure men, so much as that the wise man in power will not injure them."

The commentator says, That the sages without effort cause every man peacefully to comply with the spontaneous dictates of nature; when there is no need of seeking anything abroad, and no occasion to harbour dread at home, then external things will not be able to make any encroachment, and the Kweis (or energies of nature) would not be able to act as Shîns, (sprites or demons.) This is not so much that the Kweis (or energies of nature) would not be able to act as Shîns (sprites,) as that were they to act as Shîns (sprites,) they would not injure men; and not so much that the Shîns (sprites)

would not injure men, as that the wise man in power would not injure men, and therefore, the Kweis (energies of nature) can effect nothing against them.

Another commentator says, The Kweìs here refer to the invisible energies of nature, and the Shîns to sprites or demons. The energies of men are one and the same with the energies of nature. When a ruler possessing the right way, can superintend the empire according to the rule of right, he is unconcerned and still, and does not trouble and annoy the people; in consequence of this, the spirit of the people is harmonious and replete, while heaven and earth are mutually affected and respond, and thus the energies of nature are not perverse and refractory; thus the Kweìs cannot become sprites, nor get up mischiefs. The energies of nature not becoming sprites, does not so much mean that they will not become sprites, as that although they become sprites, they will not become mischievous sprites to injure people. The reason why they will not injure men, is not so much that they are naturally indisposed to injure men, as because the wise man in power can cause the spirit of the people to be harmonious, and thus not injure the energies of nature; the energies of nature will also become harmonious, and will not inflict injuries on men. The Kweìs and the Shîns both refer to the energies of nature; the names are two, but the things are one and the same.

It is evident, that in the above passage, the Shîns must be understood in the light of mischievous demons, who though disposed to injure men, are not capable of doing it, so long as the wise man in power regulates things properly, and prevents them from becoming mischievous.

The above are the only instances in which the Taóu-tĭh-king refers to the subject of the Kweì Shîns. In another classic ascribed to this sect, we have more frequent references to the case in hand, some of which we shall here detail. The work is entitled 三官妙經 the wonderful classic of the three Rulers, viz. those presiding over heaven, earth, and sea.

The beginning of the work is taken up with a number of 神咒 spiritual charms, or prayers, for cleansing the heart, mouth, body, &c. in which we have the word Shîn occurring as connected with the various parts of the human body, such as the 口神 Shîn of the mouth, 舌神 the Shîn of the tongue, 齒神 the Shîn of the teeth, 喉神 the Shîn of the throat, &c. where it is evident, that the word Shîn must be taken as referring to the spirits presiding over the said members. We have also the expressions 心神 the spirit of the heart, and 思神 the spirit of the thoughts, or the mind; and we have a reference to 養神 the nourishing of the spi-

rit, or the cultivation of the mind. We read also of the 神王 king of the Shins, as we do of the 魔王 chief of the devils. The expressions applied to the Deity, however, are such as 太上 Infinite Supreme, 天尊 the Honoured of Heaven, 元始 the First Beginning, 太元 the Great Original, 太玄 the Infinitely-perfect One, with 帝 the Ruler, which is put in many places for God. But we will give some extracts. The first is entitled a spiritual prayer regarding the Golden Light.

"O Thou perfectly-honoured One of heaven and earth, the root and origin of a myriad energies, the great manager of boundless kulpas, do thou enlighten my 神通 spiritual perceptions. Within and without the three worlds, the 道 Logos or divine Taou, is alone honourable, embodying in himself a golden light, may he overspread and illumine my person; he whom we cannot see with the eye, nor hear with the ear, who embraces and incloses heaven and earth, may he nourish and support the multitude of living beings." The writer then "adds, that he who receives and uses the above prayer will have in himself light and glory, while the three worlds wait around him; the 五帝 five rulers will stand before him, the 萬神 ten thousands Shins pay their court to him, while the thunders and lightnings will minister unto him; the devils and monsters will quail in his presence, and the elves and sprites vanish from his sight; holding in his own hands the thunderbolts, the 雷神 spirit of thunder will hide his name before him; his internal wisdom will be thoroughly intelligent, and his five energies mount aloft; when the golden light is thus suddenly exhibited, it will cover over and protect the truly good man."

In the above passage, Shin seems to be used in three different senses; in the first instance, "spiritual perception," doubtless means the intelligent man's own mind; in the second, the myriad of Shins are said to pay their court to him who uses this charm; and in the third instance, the 雷神 Shin presiding over thunder, is said to hide his diminished head in the presence of the devotee. Thus they are far inferior to the person who uses this charm, who has obtained the golden light from the Great Taou.

In a sentence further on, we have the souls of the dead classed with the Kwei Shins; in another the Shins are associated with images, which the wicked are said to despise; and on another page, we meet with the word 神魂 soul and

精神 animal spirits, together with 神仙 the genii who are supposed to inhabit the hills and forests; all referring to minor and inferior objects and beings.

Towards the close of the book we meet with the following sentence:

"The honoured of Heaven spake to all the people under heaven, with those who navigated the rivers and streams, lakes and seas, and were afraid of the boisterous winds and roaring waves, that if they would but recite this classic, and revert to the rulers of heaven, earth, and sea, then the multitude of the holy ones in the watery palaces would cause the winds to be gentle and the waves still, their voyages to be secure, their vessels stout, and their cordage strong, while all their wishes would be gratified; at the same time all the Shîns would protect, and the thousand 神 genii confer happiness."

We now turn to the books of Buddha, among which the 金剛經 Kin kang king stands prominent, but in this, though we find frequent mention made of the Buddhas, and the Poosats, we do not meet with one word about the Shîns.

In the 成道記 Chîng taóu ké, which appears to be a Buddhistic classic, we meet with the following sentence:

"The religion (of Buddha) having reached the 神州 spiritual region, its report spread towards the land of China."

The commentator says, that the spiritual region refers to 震旦 Chin' tán or the part of India where Buddhism took its rise.

Further on we read,

"(Buddha) having formed his law, published it in the world, and his descending 靈 spirit was manifested as he burst from his mother's side; his eyebrows were arched, like the bow of 天帝 heaven's ruler, and his eyes were round, like the leaf of the green lotus; the genii and the teachers shed tears at seeing him, and the 天神 celestial Shîns strove who should be foremost to greet him on his arrival."

The celestial Shîns spoken of in this passage, are evidently the attendant spirits, who waited on Buddha, when he was born into the world.

In another section of the same book, we read,

"Upon this, the terrestrial Shîns of the prison house jumped for joy, and bore testimony to him, while the 天子 celestial youths of empty space made a somersault and reported the matter."

The commentator intimates that the terrestrial Shîns, and the celestial youth are antithitical, and refer to the genii of heaven and

earth, who were frantic for joy when they listened to the laws of Buddha.

In the 法寶標目 Fă paòu peaòu mŭh, which appears to be a record of the various Buddhistic classics, and of their translations into Chinese, vol. 1st, section 1st, we have a reference to the 神府 abode of the Shîns, which appears to be contrasted with the 人天 heaven of human beings; from which we infer, that the former refers to the residence of the genii, and the latter to the place of happiness appointed for man. In section 3rd, we have the expression 神通 spiritual perception, which occurs so frequently in the books of Taou, and refers doubtless to the intelligence of the human mind, when brought under the influence of religion. In section 11th, we meet with the phrase 佛神力 fŭh shîn leĭh, which appears to mean the spiritual energies of Buddha, supposed to be obtained by his votaries, so as enable them to perform charitable actions aright. This phrase occurs again in section 21st. In the 16th section, we are told, that "Buddha, having perfected virtue in himself, returned to the city of Këa-pe-lo, in order to convert his royal father; at that time the people of the country came out to meet Buddha, while the eight classes of celestial dragons surrounded, and paid obeisance to him; Buddha then displayed his 神通 spiritual perception, and explained his laws, &c. In the 22nd section, we read of the 大神變 great spiritual change, which the commentator says refers to Buddha's explaining his laws, and enforcing his instructions, aided by his 神通 spiritual perception; thus he was enabled to convert the emperor of the Shang dynasty, and cause him to receive his religion. On the 32nd page, we have an account of a fearless Poo-sat, who never rose on hearing a salutation, and never made enquiries nor paid compliments; when the king enquired the reasons of this singular conduct, he said, "The sacred king who guides the revolutions of the empire, does not go to meet an inferior king; the 帝釋 god Shĭh-këa does not go to meet the rest of the honoured of heaven; the 大海神 Shîn of the great deep does not pay compliment to the Shîns of rivers and ponds; the glorious Shîn of the sun and moon, does not bow to a glow-worm." In which sentence we perceive a marked distinction between the word 帝 ruler, or as it must be rendered god, as applied to *Sakya muna*, or Buddha, and the title Shîn, which in this connection can only mean the spirits or genii presiding over the objects referred to.

In the 2d vol. and the 142d section, we have Buddha commanding the celestial dragons, and the great and mighty Kweì Shîns, to protect the country and its inhabitants: and a little further on we read of all the dragons and Shîns, with the Kweì Shîns who are the watchmen of the night, being severally placed at their allotted posts, to ward off danger and defend the good; in which we see that they hold something of the rank of angels with us. On another page, we read of great 神變 spiritual changes or transformations, referring to the wonders wrought by Buddha, also to the 神力 spiritual enegies of all the Buddhas.

In the the 3rd vol. we read that when Buddha proclaims his laws, the 天王 celestial kings, and the 地神 terrestrial Shîns defend them, while the celestial Shîns and houris recite their prayers and present their supplications; evidently representing the Shîns as doing homage to the laws of Buddha and intreating his favour.

In the 6th vol. we are told, that all the Shîns and celestial persons assemble to pay their respects to Buddha: and towards the close of the volume the votaries of Buddha are promised that their 精神 animal spirits shall be reproduced in heaven above, and their 魂神 souls ascend to heaven and enjoy boundless felicity.

In the 7th vol. those who cut down trees are threatened with death by the 樹神 Shîns or genii of the trees.

In the 9th vol. we have a reference to the 神異 mysterious wonders wrought by the Buddhist priests, which they are said to have performed at different intervals, and which it is thought they could still effect, were they sufficiently devoted to Buddha; on which account, they are sometimes called 神僧 mysterious priests.

In the same volume, we are told, that when men recite the true names of the 108 Poo-sats of the Buddhist religion, then felicities will be accomplished, and long life attained, all the celestial dragons and Kweì Shîns will treat them with reverence, and all the evils arising from wild beasts, manacles, and misfortunes will be spontaneously dispersed. Further on we read, that when the school of the priests and celestial kings discourse on Buddha, all the Kweì Shîns who are unbelievers in his doctrines, and who are disposed to disturb the priests and nuns of the woods and wilderness, will on the repetition of these words be prevented from injuring them. Again we find, that the same doctrines are calcutated to drive away and expel all wicked devils, and wicked Kweì Shîns, and to banish to a distance all calamities and pestilences.

On a review of the instances in which the word Shîn occurs in the Classical Books of Taou and Buddha, we find that it is used in the following acceptations :

1. In the sense of spiritual beings, having control over the destines of the empire, three times.

2. In the sense of spiritual beings of a subordinate character, who wait on Buddha, and pay adoration to him, four times.

3. In the sense of genii, five times.

4. In the sense of sprites and demons, fifteen times.

5. In the sense of spirits presiding over the sun and moon, once ; do. over the ocean, once ; do. over thunder, once ; do. over trees, once ; do. over various parts of the body, and mind, six times.

6. In the sense of celestial Shîns, as coupled with houris, once ; in the sense of terrestrial Shîns, once.

7. Shîns as coupled with Kwels, six times ; sometimes referring to the watchmen of the night ; sometimes coupled with dragons ; sometimes called wicked, and unbelievers in Buddha.

8. Shîn is used as referring to the spirit of man, ten times ; once as referring to the souls of the dead ; twice to the animal spirits.

9. In the sense of pure spirituality, as the result of extreme emptiness or vacuity, eleven times. This is the favourite idea of the Taouists, and what they aim at by the subjection of their boisterous energies, in order to attain to nothingness, which is perfection.

10. In the sense of spiritual, eleven times, sometimes connected with perceptions, and sometimes with wonders and priests, in the sense of mysterious,

Thus in the all the classics of the three sects, we do not meet once with the word Shîn, as positively and necessarily meaning God, much less the Supreme Being ; and in a vast majority of instances meaning spirit, genii, or some subordinate being. In later ages, it may have been connected with idols, and by the ignorant multitude may be thought to mean something divine, but it is by no means a word that Christian writers could use with reference to the Divine Being, nor as the generic term for God. The expression 拜神 worshipping the Shîns, always means paying adoration to an inferior order of spiritual beings, and should never be used by Protestant, as it now never is by Catholic, writers for worshipping God. The frequent employment by classical writers of the word Shîn in the sense of spirit, would sanction its adoption by us, with the addition of holy, for the Spi-

rit of God, but not as equivalent to the word *God* in general. We have not meet in the Buddhistic classics with the phrase 神佛 God Buddha, (it may occur in common conversation, but we have not seen it in their classics) ; while we have frequently met with the expression 帝釋 God Sakya muna ; from which we infer that 帝 Té, rather than 神 Shîn, is by them considered the generic name for God.

We have thus gone through the classical books of the three religions of China, in order to ascertain the real meaning of the word Shîn ; it is time now to examine what idea the same authorities give us of the term 上帝 Supreme Ruler.

In the first volume of the Four Books, called 大學 Tá-hëŏ, on the 11th page, we have the following quotation :

"The Ode says, Until the (sovereign of the) Yin dynasty had lost (his influence over) the multitude, he could be considered as corresponding to the Supreme Ruler ; (our Chow dynasty) should now take warning from Yin, because the sublime decree (of Heaven, in favour of one dynasty) is not easily preserved : which means, that when a sovereign obtains (an influence over) the multitude, he can keep his country, but when he loses the multitude, he loses his country."

The commentator says, That corresponding with the Supreme Ruler means, that the sovereign of Yin was chief over the whole empire, and therefore answered to the Supreme Ruler, (who is chief over all the universe.)

The paraphrase is as follows : Before the ruler of the Yin dynasty had lost the multitude, he was the chief over all the empire, and could correspond (on earth) to the Supreme Ruler (in heaven ;) but when Yin lost the multitude, the decree of Heaven, formerly made in his favour, departed from him ; for the decree appointing any one to be emperor rests with Heaven, and the inclination of Heaven follows that of the people ; when a monarch, therefore, obtains the hearts of the people, the Supreme Ruler favours him, and he gets the throne ; but when he loses the hearts of the people, the Supreme Ruler is angry with him, and he loses the throne.

In the above passage, the monarch who reigns over the whole empire is said to correspond to the Supreme Ruler, who reigns over the whole world ; the main idea to be attached to the Supreme Ruler, in this connection, therefore, is that of universal dominion ; while the paraphrast assigns to him the disposal of human events, and particularly the thrones of princes.

In the 中庸 Chung-yûng, or Happy Medium, 14th page, we read,

"The ceremonies of the 郊 celestial and 社 terrestrial sacrifices are those by which men serve the Supreme Ruler ;

the ceremonies of the ancestorial temple are those by which men sacrifice to their progenitors ; when a men understands the ceremonies of the celestial and terrestrial sacrifices, and the righteousness of the ancestorial and autumnal offerings, the government of the country will perhaps be as easy to him as looking at one's hand."

The commentator says, The celestial sacrifice was offered to heaven, and the terrestrial one to earth ; the sovereign of earth is not mentioned in this connection, for the sake of brevity. The ancestorial offering was the great sacrifice presented by the emperor in the ancestorial temple, when he looked back and sacrifieed to the ancestor from whom the first emperor of his dynasty sprang, and associated him with such first emperor. With regard to the autumnal sacrifice, we may observe, that sacrifices were offered at all the four seasons, though only one of them is here quoted.

The paraphrase says, Speaking with reference to the celestial and terrestrial sacrifices, we may observe, that on the winter solstice, men sacrificed to heaven at the round hillock, and on the summer solstice, they sacrificed to earth at the square pool, which was the way in which they did service to the Supreme Ruler ; whilst they took the sincerity and respect wherewith they honoured heaven and complimented earth, in order to acknowledge the favour of nature's production and completion. The ceremonies of the ancestorial temple were performed either once in five years, or four times a year, and were intended for the service of progenitors ; whilst they took the feeling of honouring and reverencing ancestors, in order to carry out their sincerity in looking back to their distant forefathers. Such ceremonies and such righteousness, can only be carried out by benevolent and filial persons ; when our perceptions are sufficiently clear to understand the duty of sacrificing to 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler, we can perform the duties of nourishing the myriads of the people : and when we are sufficiently intelligent in the matter of filial piety, as to be able to sacrifice to our parents, we shall be able also, by such filial piety, to govern the whole empire.

In order to understand the above extract, we must consider that the Chinese have had various ways of designating the Supreme power ; sometimes they spoke only of Heaven, when they intended something similar to what Europeans mean by Heaven ; sometimes they used the term heaven and earth, when they intended by the phrase something approaching to our word Nature ; and sometimes they employed the term Supreme Ruler, when they meant something like our word Supreme Being. These are occasionally interchangeable, and by a metonymy of the effect for the cause, Nature and Heaven are used by them, as well as among us, for the Ruler and Disposer of all things. Having adopted this kind of phraseology, it was natural that they should sometimes attach the ruling power, in their ideas, to the overshadowing Heavens, and sometimes contemplate it under the dual form, as

the Ruler of Heaven and the Sovereign of Earth ; but when unity and personality are intended to be conveyed, they use the term Supreme Ruler. Thus in offering their sacrifices, they occasionally present them under the form of celestial and terrestrial offerings, and sometimes minister them at the summer and winter solstices alternately, but it is evident from the general tenor of their writings, that they look upon the Power above as one, whom they honour under the title of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, or God.

In the first section of 孟子 Măng-tszè, and on the 19th page, we read as follows :

" The Historical Classic says, when Heaven sent down the inferior people, it appointed princes and teachers over them ; saying, Let them assist the Supreme Ruler, and be favoured above all others in every place ; thus, whether people do or do not offend, here are we (rulers) present, and under the whole heaven how dare any give indulgence to their refractory wills ? When but one man (the tyrant Chów) acted disorderly throughout the empire, Woò-wâng felt ashamed of him. This was Woò-wâng's bravery, and thus it was that Woò-wâng, by one act of bravery, tranquillized the people of the empire."

The commentator says, That the present quotation differs in some respects from the original classic, but he thinks it better to explain the words as they stand here.

The meaning of the writer will be more apparent from the paraphrase: When Heaven sent down the inferior people, they could not manage themselves, therefore rulers were appointed for their controul ; and they could not instruct themselves, therefore teachers were set up for their guidance. The intention of this arrangement was, that the rulers and teachers should act in the stead of Heaven to carry out right principles, and aid in those things in which the Supreme Ruler could not personally interfere. They were therefore gifted with very honourable stations, and favoured above all the surrounding population. Now seeing that we (rulers) have received the decree of Heaven, and become the rulers and teachers of the people, then all those throughout the empire who offend, we have authority to slay ; and all those who are innocent, we are commissioned to tranquillize ; how dare any then indulge their evil propensities and oppress the people ?

In the above passage the term Supreme Ruler is used synonymously with the word Heaven, as the source of all rule, authority, and power, something in accordance with the observation of Daniel, " that the Heavens do rule." The phrase, aiding the Supreme, and doing that which he could not attain to, is a strong expression, to intimate that those who rule by his appointment are his ministers, to carry out

his views in the government of the world, and to do that in which he could not personally interfere.

In the 4th section, page the 7th, we read,

"The Ode says, 'The descendants of the Shang dynasty are not to be counted by myriads, but the Supreme Ruler has decreed that they should be in subjection to the Chow dynasty; now they are subject to Chow, because the celestial decree is not constant in one family; and the adherents of the Yin (or Shang) dynasty, although great and prosperous, are yet obliged to aid in pouring out the libations in the ancestorial temple of the capital of Chow.' Confucius, (on reading the above quotation) used to say, 'The benevolent man is not to be resisted by multitudes.' Thus it is that when a prince loves benevolence, he will find no enemy throughout the world."

In the above passage the Supreme Ruler is spoken of as he who decrees the empire to one or another, according to his will, and conveys to us the idea of his perfect sovereignty.

On the 27th page of the same section,

"Măng-tszè said, Were the beautiful Se-tszè to be carrying about an unpleasant smell, every body would stop their noses on passing her. But if ever such an ugly person were to practise fasting and bathing, he could then do sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler."

In this passage the Supreme Ruler is evidently viewed as the highest power to whom sacrifice could be offered, and who would not reject the services of the most ill-favoured, if entered upon with due preparation.

The above are all the passages in the Four Books, which appear to contain any reference to the Supreme Ruler, we will now turn to the Five Classics.

In the Shoo-king, or Historical Classic, Book 1st, sect. 2d, page 11, the word Sháng-té occurs, but this passage having been already explained whilst treating of the Shîn, it is not necessary to refer to it again. We beg leave, however, to call particular attention to the expression, "that august one, the Supreme Ruler, most honourable and without compare," as exhibiting to us the elevated conceptions, which the Chinese ancients have formed regarding the Supreme Ruler.

In the 5th section of the same book, page 37, we read,

"Yù said, That is true, your Majesty; but those who are in high stations should be extremely careful! To which the emperor Shún replied, That is a very just remark. Yù resumed, Let your mind rest (in that point of goodness) in which you ought to settle; reflect on the springs of action, and think of the way in which they will subside. Allow your ministers to be straight-forward (in their remarks;) and then, whenever you make any movement, there will be a gene-

ral correspondence (to your wishes,) as if (the people were) anticipating your commands; (act thus, in order) luminously to receive (the decree of) the Supreme Ruler, and then should Heaven issue any new decree, it would be of an excellent kind (in your favour.)"

In the above passage the idea attached to the Supreme Ruler is, that of being the supreme disposer of human affairs, " by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice:" it is also put synonymously with Heaven, on the assumed principle that " the Heavens do rule."

The 1st section of the 3d book thus begins:

" The future king (Ching-t'hang) said, Come hither, all ye people, and listen every one of you to my words; it is not that I, the insignificant one, would venture to bring on myself the reproach of acting disorderly, (by attacking my lawful sovereign), but the fact is, that the ruler of the Hëá dynasty has perpetrated many crimes, and Heaven has commanded me to exterminate him.

" Now all you people are saying, that (I) your prince do not compassionate you multitudes, (causing you) to abandon your harvests, that you may go to cut off and correct the ruler of Hëá; I have heard all these your remarks; but the ruler of Hëá has been guilty of crimes, and I, dreading the Supreme Ruler, do not dare to refuse to correct (the delinquent.)"

In the above passage, Ching-t'hang, viewing the oppressions of the Hëá dynasty, assumes that the decree of Heaven had already been issued to exterminate its ruler, and that he had been commissioned to carry out the decree; therefore, notwithstanding the complaints of his followers, he professed to have such a prevailing dread of the Supreme Ruler on his mind, as not to dare to refuse the celestial commission. The idea attached to the expression Supreme Ruler in this connection, therefore, is that of the "most High ruling among the kingdoms of men, and giving them to whomsoever he will; doing according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, so that none can stay his hand, or say unto Him, what doest thou."

In the 3d section of the same book, page 6th, we read,

" The king (Ching-t'hang) returned from the conquest of Hëá, and arrived at the city of Pó, where he issued a general announcement to the myriad of states. The king said, Oh you myriad of states, and multitudes of people, carefully listen to the announcements which I, a single individual, now make to you. The august Supreme Ruler (originally) conferred the just medium of virtue on the lower people; that which induces men to follow this out, is their invariably perfect nature; while those who are able to make people peacefully comply with the right way, are human rulers."

The paraphrase on this passage says, The majestic Supreme Ruler,

化生萬物 in transforming and producing the myriad of things, conferred this great principle of the just medium and perfect correctness on the lower people, everywhere causing them to hit the due centre, without the least atom of depravity or deflectiveness; the lower people, having received this just medium, had only to comply with the spontaneous workings of what they had received from Heaven, and then they would all possess an invariably perfect nature; as parents and children naturally cherish towards each other the feeling of love, while rulers and subjects as naturally conceive the idea of respect; so also husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, friends and companions, of their own accord, exhibit the virtues of propriety, wisdom, and truth; all which, both sage and simple, in all ages of the world, have uniformly displayed. But though Heaven has conferred the due medium on all alike, yet men have received it in a different manner, and it depends upon human rulers so to transform and accommodate their various natural constitutions, that they may each one comply with the right way.

In the above passage, the production and transformation of the myriad of things, and particularly the conferring of that virtuous nature, which the Chinese suppose all men originally possessed, are all ascribed to the Great Supreme, who "made man upright, though he hath since sought out many inventions."

On the next page, we have the following:

"Ching-t'hang, addressing the people, said. If you display any virtues, I do not dare to hide them; and when fault attaches to my person, I do not presume to excuse myself; the inspection of these things rests with the mind of the Supreme Ruler."

The paraphrase is as follows: If you people possess the good quality of maintaining the laws and preserving the excellent decree, I do not presume to hide or conceal it; and if I fall into the error of not being able to harmonize and tranquillize the people, I do not dare to excuse myself; the rewarding of goodness, and the blaming of faults rests, in every case, with the review and inspection of the mind of the Supreme Ruler, and cannot be privately decided on by me: therefore you, both princes and ministers, must not neglect severally to fulfil your various duties."

In the above passage, we have a reference to the mind of the Supreme, who contemplates and judges of the actions of men, rewarding or punishing them as they deserve, without regard to their private views and feelings; for "his eyes are upon all the ways of the sons of men, to give every one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings."

The closing paragraph of the same section is as follows:

"Oh you heir of the throne, be respectfully cautious in regard to your person, and reflect on these things; the sacred counsels (you have heard) are of great extent, and these excellent words are exceedingly bright! Moreover, (the decree of) the Supreme Ruler, is not invariably fixed in favour o one (individual); if you do good, he will send down a hun-

dred blessings, and if you do evil, he will pour down a hundred curses."

The paraphrase says, The Supreme Ruler, in conferring or withholding his favour from individual princes, is originally not fixed to one person ; if therefore you can constantly reflect on the counsels you have heard, and not disobey them, this would be to do good, when Heaven would send down a hundred blessings; but if you cannot perpetually think on the counsels afforded you, but disobey them, this would be to do evil, and Heaven would send down upon you a hundred calamities.

Here, not only have we an exhibition of the Supreme Ruler's disposing of the fate of sovereigns, but also rewarding and punishing according to the works of men ; and though such retributions spoken of in the text with reference to the Supreme, are in the paraphrase ascribed to Heaven, yet it is evident that by the word Heaven, in the paraphrase, is meant none other than the Ruler of heaven, who rewards and punishes men according as their works may be.

In the 7th section of the same book, we read,

"The former monarch (Ching-t'hang) constantly exerted himself in order respectfully to cultivate his virtue, so that he could be compared with the Supreme Ruler ; now your Majesty, having inherited the honourable line of succession, should contemplate this example."

The paraphrase says, that the king morning and evening encouraged himself in cautious trepidation, in order to cultivate his virtue, therefore he could become the ruler of the empire, and in this respect be compared with the Supreme Ruler of the universe.

The likening of an earthly ruler to the Lord of all, wears the appearance of excessive flattery, but the comparison is between the supremacy of the ruler of the empire, and the supremacy of the Sovereign of the universe, intimating the universal rule of each over all beneath his sway.

In the 11th section of the same book, we read,

"It is thus that the Supreme Ruler is about to renew the virtues of our first ancestor, and extend right rule to this our state ; whilst I, with a few of my earnest and respectful servants, carefully sustain the lives of you people, and perpetuate your residence in this new city."

The work ascribed to the Supreme Ruler, in the above passage, is that of promoting the prosperity of empires.

In the 1st section of the 4th book, occurrs a passage, which has been before commented on, in treating of the word Shîn ; so that it is not necessary to refer to it further, than to remark, that the commentator observes a certain distinction and order between the various objects of worship, which the tyrant Chów had neglected, saying, that "he had set aside the service due to the Supreme Ruler, with the hundred Shîns, and the manes of ancestors," evidently inferring the

superiority of the former and the inferiority of the latter.

The following sentence of the Historical Classic has also been previously considered, in quoting the passages from the Four Books treating of the Supreme Ruler. The attentive reader will, as Choo-foo-tszè has remarked, observe some difference in the wording of the original and the quotation, but nothing that bears on the question before us.

Towards the close of the same section we have the following remarks of Woò-wâng:

"I, the insignificant one, night and day, am respectfully cautious; having received the decree to rule from my father Wăn-wâng, I offered the celestial sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, and the terrestrial sacrifice in honour of the *lares rustici*; and now, with you multitudes, I will carry out the inflictions of heaven."

The paraphrase says, I, the insignificant one, early and late manifested respect and caution, in order to attack the Shang dynasty, which undertaking is merely the carrying out of the unaccomplished work of my predecessor; I, therefore, went first to receive the decree in the temple of my father Wăn-wâng; but it was Heaven that gave the decree to my father, therefore I further performed the celestial sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, to seek his blessing: and the terrestrial sacrifice, in honour of the *lares rustici*, in order to give information of my intention to attack Shang.

In the above passage the Supreme Ruler is acknowledged as the disposer of events, and therefore sacrificed to at the commencement of a great undertaking, in order to obtain his blessing; the paraphrast ascribes the acts of the Supreme to Heaven, which we need not account strange, when he who spake as never man spake proposed the question, whether the baptism of John were of Heaven or of men.

In the 3rd section of the 4th book, Chîng-t'hang, after enumerating the villainies of the tyrant, says, "that the Supreme Ruler would not accord with his doings, and determined on sending down this calamity" for his chastisement. In this passage the character ascribe to the Supreme is that of the disapprobation of vice, and the determination to punish it.

In the 5th section of the same book, Woò-wâng makes a declaration of the tyrant's wickedness, and says, that "having obtained some benevolent persons (to assist him), he presumed respectfully to receive (the decree of) the Supreme Ruler, in order to suppress rebellious counsels." In which the character given to the Supreme Ruler is that of aiding the patriotic in rescuing an oppressed country from a tyrant's rule.

In the 9th section of the same book, Ching-wâng, the son of Woò-wâng, on proceeding to suppress an insurrection in one part of his dominions, said, "Moreover, I, who am but a little child, do not dare to set aside the command of the Supreme Ruler." Upon this the commentator remarks, that

the king had consulted the prognostications regarding the projected undertaking, and finding them favourable, he considered that it was the will of the Supreme Ruler, that he should go on this expedition; and how dare he, asks the commentator, contravene the commands of the Highest Potentate? The paraphrast lays it out thus, "Divination is that whereby we connect ourselves with the intelligence of Heaven. Now my prognostications are all favourable, and thus the expedition against the rebels is really what the Supreme Ruler has commanded me to set about; I, who am but a little child, respectfully perform his high behests, without indulging in indifference, how can I dare lightly to set aside and disobey his orders?" From the above we perceive, that when the Chinese thought they discovered the will of the Supreme, by the only method that recommended itself to their unenlightened judgment, they did not dare to disobey, but considered it a sufficient warrant to set about hazardous expeditions, even though others should disapprove of them.

In the 9th section of the same book, page 40, we read,

"The king said, Oh, do you enlarge your views, all you chiefs of states, together with you officers employed; (remember that) the glorious kingdom (founded by Woò-wâng) was indebted to clever men; and it was only owing to those ten persons (capable of quelling disorders), who could trace out and understand the decrees of the Supreme Ruler, (thus perceiving that the tyrant was rejected and our own monarch approved of), until Heaven aided their sincerity (in enabling them to subjugate the Yin dynasty.)"

In the above passage, the rise or fall of dynasties is said to depend upon the decree of the Supreme Ruler, and the chief part of wisdom is to be able ascertain in whose favour that decree is passed, and to act accordingly.

In the 10th section of the same book, we read,

Ching-wâng, admiring the count of Weí, said, "You alone can tread in, and cultivate the virtuous ways (of your ancestor;) and for a long time, you have had a good reputation for respectful carefulness, and filial piety; venerating and honouring both invisible and human beings; I therefore admire your virtue, and esteem it to be solid, whilst you are not unmindful (of your predecessors.) Thus the Supreme Ruler will frequently enjoy your sacrifices, while the lower people will become reverently harmonious through you; therefore I appoint you to the dignity of an arch-duke, to govern this eastern territory of Hëá."

Here the reference is to the gratification with which the Supreme Ruler will accept the offerings of those who are virtuous and good.

In the 11th section of the same book, we read, Woò-

wâng, after recounting the virtues of his father Wăn-wâng, which induced the people to confide in and honour him as their protector, says, the fragrance of such perfect virtue "was perceived by the 上帝 Supreme Ruler, when 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler approved, and Heaven fully authorized Wăn-wâng to make war on and destroy the Yin dynasty."

Here again the idea brought forward is, that the Supreme Ruler perceives and approves the virtues of good men, as if smelling a sweet savour, and commissions those whom he approves to assume and exercise authority : thus sang Isaiah in vision, " the way of the just is upright ; thou most just dost approve the path of the upright." We have here also to remark that the word 帝 Ruler is used synonymously with 上帝 Supreme Ruler.

In the 1st section of the 5th Book, we have the announcement of Chaóu-kung to Chíng-wâng, the son of Woò-wâng, saying, " Yes, indeed, Imperial Heaven's Supreme Ruler has changed the decree once passed in favour of his chief son, the sovereign of this great country of Yin, and your Majesty has received it, accompanied by interminable blessings and incalculable anxieties ; how then can you dispense with respectful caution ?"

Here the reference is to the sovereignty of the Supreme, disposing at will of the thrones of monarchs, and on reading it we cannot help being reminded of the words of Daniel, " The most high ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."

A little further on, the same adviser says, " Let the king now come, and carry out the authority of the Supreme Ruler, while he subdues himself in this central land." Intimating that the authority of kings was derived from above, and that in the proper exercise of it monarchs were but carrying out the authority of the Supreme ; for "the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the nations."

In the 3rd section of the same book, Chow-kung, whilst defending the conduct of the Chow dynasty, in superseding the former line of monarchs, observed,

"I have heard it said, That the Supreme Ruler leads people on by gentle methods, but the ruler of Hëá would not yield to a mild influence ; and when 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler sent down his inflictions, to make known his will to this tyrant of Hëá, he was not able to profit by the 帝 Divine dispensations, but became excessively dissolute and voluptuous, feigning boasted assumptions ; when Heaven at length refused to regard or listen to him, and abrogating the original decree in his favour, inflicted condign punishment upon him."

In the above passage we have the Supreme Ruler represented as dealing first by gentler methods with a refractory prince, and finding him unable to profit by such mild corrections, determining at length to set him aside entirely, and raise up another in his stead. What more striking exhibition could we have of the kind dealings of divine Providence, and of the paternal character of the Divine Government. We wish to call attention here also to the repeated use of the word 帝 Ruler for God, and for the Divine dispensations.

Further on we read, "Thus has the Supreme Ruler withheld his protection, and sent down this extensive ruin." Is there evil in the city, the prophet asks, and the Lord hath not done it?

In the 5th section of the same book, we have Chow-kung addressing his brother, saying, "Oh prince! you have been accustomed to observe, that it mainly depends on ourselves, (to preserve the decree in our family); I also do not presume to rest too confidently on the decree of the Supreme Ruler (in my favour,) and thus fail perpetually to anticipate the terrible inflictions of Heavens, or imagine that our people will not at some time or other murmur and rebel."

The idea conveyed by the above passage is, that the celestial decree appointing certain princes to rule is in accordance with the disposition of the people: if the feelings of the people accord with the government of any particular individual, the decree of Heaven may be maintained in his favour; therefore it becomes sovereigns to be tremblingly anxious, and not presume that the decree of Heaven is irreversibly fixed in their families, and thus improperly rely on the appointment of the Supreme Ruler, as though that would never be reversed, and made in favour of one more worthy. It is evident from all this, that the Chinese considered that the Supreme Ruler changes times and seasons, removing kings and setting up kings according to his will.

A little further on, the same royal councellor alludes to various intelligent men who flourished during former reigns, such as E-yin, himself a sage, who aided his sovereign Ching-t'hang, another sage, and thus by their united efforts in governing and transforming the people, "could influence imperial Heaven" in their favour: also E-chih and Chin-hoo, themselves philosophers, who aided T'haé-woo, himself a wise king, and thus by their virtuous and energetic government "could influence the Supreme Ruler," to protect them. Whereupon the commentator remarks, that "When a reference is made to the protecting influence which overshadows mankind, then the word Heaven is used, and when the reference is to the Lord of all, then the word 帝 Ruler is employed. Thus the Historical Classic sometimes speaks of Heaven and sometimes of the Ruler, severally according to the idea intended to be conveyed, and does not intimate any difference

of weight and importance betweeen the two expressions ; in this chapter the two phrases are contrasted with each other chiefly with reference to the distinction between sages and philosophers, and the different gradations of the style." Another commentator accounts for the use of separate terms in this connection, by the different features of government exhibited by the various persons referred to. The rule of the former being overshadowing and all-pervading, like the outstretched canopy of heaven ; while the movements of the latter were in unison with celestial reason, and therefore more approaching to the idea of rule and management." We do not attempt here to decide which of their views is right, but only call attention to the discussion, with the view of shewing, that the Chinese themselves, apprehending that mistakes might arise from the practice of using these terms interchangeably, thought it necessary to explain the leading features of each, and give the idea of overshadowing protection to the one, and of universal control to the other. Averring, at the same time, that the two terms were intended to refer to one and the same Power, which protects and presides over all things.

A few sentences below, the duke continues, " Oh Shĭh ! formerly the Supreme Ruler cut off (the Yin dynasty,) and renewedly stimulated the virtue of Woò-wâng, concentrating the important decree upon his person." In this passage the idea of the Divine control over the kings of the earth is the same as before commented on.

The same councillor, in speaking of Wăn-wâng, said, "It was also in consequence of the pure and protecting (decree in his favour) that (his ministers were enabled) to maintain a firm hold on virtue, and were led on to an acquaintance with Heaven's terribleness ; thus they illustrated Wăn-wâng's (principles), drawing forth (his virtues,) that they might be observable (above) and exert an overshadowing influence (below) ; thus (the fragrance of his good government) was perceived by the Supreme Ruler : and then he received the decree formerly passed in favour of the dynasty Yin."

In the above extract we have the Supreme Ruler again exhibited, as smelling the sweet savour of a virtuous prince, and appointing him in consequence to universal rule.

In the 8th section of the same book, Chow-kung is referring to the ancients who " sought after clever men, that they might pay honour to the Supreme Ruler, " and obtain his favour and protection.

In a succeeding sentence, Chow-kung refers to the former emperor Chîng-t'hang, " who was advanced to promote in an eminent degree, the glorious will of the Supreme Ruler,"

which the paraphrast calls "causing the resplendent will of the Supreme Ruler to be gloriously manifested throughout the empire;" showing the people in an evident manner that he was chosen by the Supreme to fulfil his will in ruling over the empire. Expressions which are inapplicable to any but Him, who doeth according to his will in the armies of heaven and amongst the inhabitants of the earth.

Further on, Chow-kung observes:

"Then we come to Wán-wâng and Woò-wâng, who were able to understand the feelings of the three kinds of superior officers, and clearly to perceive the talents of the three grades of clever men, so as to employ them in respectfully serving the Supreme Ruler, and in appointing elders and superiors over the people."

According to the above, the use of wisdom in the above monarchs was to discern and appreciate such talents in their officers, as would enable them to select proper persons respectfully to serve the Supreme Ruler; from which we may gather the high estimation in which they held him whom they supposed to be ruler over all.

In the 4th section of the 6th Book, K'hang-wang is alluding to the former sovereigns Wàn and Woò, who tranquillized and enriched the empire; and having warlike and upright ministers under them "could receive the correct decree from the Supreme Ruler, while high Heaven accorded with their principles, and conferred upon them universal rule."

In the 8th section of the same book, "Mŭh-wâng wishing his criminal judge to frame a code of laws for the empire, first detailed the mistaken legislation of former times, when oppressions spread terror, and when multitudes being put to death, the people announced their innocence to 上 the Supreme. The Supreme Ruler, then surveyed the people of Meaou, and found that they did not possess the fragrance of virtue, but that their punishments emitted an offensive odour." Here we may remark upon the application of the first word used in the title Supreme Ruler to the Lord of all, calling him *the Supreme*, as the last word is also sometimes used alone with the same reference, designating him *the Ruler* of the universe; shewing that the words, both separately and together, are capable of being applied to the Deity. The attentive reader will also observe, that personal acts and attributes are applied to him, such as the listening to complaints, and the looking down to survey the conduct of men.

Further on he speaks blamingly of the same people of Meaou, who neglected to examine criminal cases, or to appoint proper judges, thus erroneously applying punishments and oppressing the innocent. This, he says, "the Supreme Ruler would not excuse, but attached blame to the Meaouites, and cut them off."

In the 9th section of the same book, Pĭng-wâng speaks of the illustrious Wăn and Woò, on whom "the Supreme Ruler concentrated his decree, appointing them to rule over the empire." Shewing that the writer attributed all the authority and greatness obtained by those monarchs to the Divine decree in their favour.

The above are all the passages that have occurred to us from the Shoo-king, as referring to Shang-té, and concur in giving us a most exalted idea of the greatness and authority of Him, whom the Chinese designated as the Supreme Ruler.

We turn now to the Book of Odes; in the 小雅 Seaou-yày Canto of which, and in the 正月 Chíng-yuĕ section, we have the following sentence:

"Looking into the midst of the forest, we see people binding their faggots and torches (which is apparent to every observer;) but now when the people are in jeopardy, we look to Heaven, and find it dark and indistinct, (as though it made no difference between good and bad); but when (the retributions of Providence) have once been settled, every one without exception will be obliged to submit; (in these righteous retributions) we see the doings of the Great Supreme Ruler, and who will say, that he does this, (that is, punishes the wicked) out of hatred and ill will?"

Here Ching-tszè remarks, That speaking of the visible canopy over our heads, we call it heaven; but speaking of the Lord and Governor there, we call him 帝 Ruler. In this passage the retributions of Providence are evidently ascribed to the Supreme Ruler, who sends down inflictions on the wicked, not out of hatred and ill-will, but because justice requires it.

In the same Canto, and in the 角弓 Kĕŏ-kung section, we read as follows:

"Behold yon meadow, with its overhanging willows; who does not sometimes wish to rest beneath their shade? (so do the princes of the empire wish to repose beneath the shadow of the court,) but this 上帝 autocrat of our's is so awe-inspiring, that no one dares to approach him; should a few of us endeavour, (by going to court,) to consolidate his empire, he would then go to the extremest lengths (in his demands on our services.)"

Here the title of 上帝 Supreme Ruler, is used (according to the commentator) to designate the autocrat of China, but evidently with reference to his exercising universal sway over the empire.

The first section of the next Canto, called the 大雅 Tá-yày, has so much in it referable to the subject before us, that

we may be excused for transcribing the principle part of it.

Chow-kung addressing Ching-wâng said, "Behold Wăn-wâng in the realms above, how brightly does he shine in heaven! Although the state of Chow (over which he presided on earth) was an ancient kingdom, yet the decree (appointing it chief over the empire) was new in his days. Is not this first ruler of the Chow dynasty then brilliantly displayed? and is not the decree of 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler in his case rightly timed? Behold, again, Wăn-wâng is there, ascending and descending in the presence of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler!"

The commentator says, That although Wăn-wâng was at that time dead, his 神 spirit was in the realms above, shining brightly in heaven, which shews that his virtue was brilliantly displayed; also that the dynasty of Chow was in the zenith of its glory, and that the decree of the Ruler of all was then in its favour. For if the spirit of Wăn-wâng was in heaven, ascending and descending, and perpetually waiting in the immediate presence of the Supreme Ruler, his descendants would certainly participate in the influence of his virtue, and maintain their rule over the empire.

In this passage we have to remark on the use of 帝 ruler, in the sense of 上帝 Supreme Ruler; and further, would call attention to the fact of the Supreme Ruler presiding in the realms above, and the spirits of the blessed (according to Chinese ideas) perpetually ascending and descending in His presence. What nearer approach could we have to the Christian idea of God.

In the next sentence, but two, the poet says,

"How deep and distant is (the virtue of) Wăn-wâng! how perpetually does he illustrate the respect which he maintained! how great is the celestial decree in his favour! Here are these descendants of the Shang dynasty, whose numbers are not to be limited by millions; but the Supreme Ruler having passed his decree (in favour of Chow,) these are all bound in obedience to Chow."

Here the usual reference is made to the Supreme Ruler, disposing of the fates of empires.

Further on the same poet observes,

"Will you not reflect on your ancestor, when he cultivated his virtue, how he constantly spoke of agreeing with the rule of right, and considered that abundant happiness was to be sought for from himself. Formerly, before the Yin dynasty had lost the multitudes, its sovereign (in his universal dominion) could be compared to the Supreme Ruler; you should therefore take warning by Yin, for the great decree is not easily preserved in one family."

Here the commentator tells us, that the Supreme Ruler is the

天之主宰 Lord of Heaven, the very word that the Romanists have used for God.

In the next section, called 大明 Tá-ming, the poet says, "Then arose this Wăn-wâng, who was careful and cautious, intelligently serving the Supreme Ruler, and thus causing much happiness to come upon him; his virtue also being incorrupt, he received charge of the kingdom."

Further on, the poet is encouraging Woò-wâng to the attack of Yin, saying,

"The multitudes of the Yin dynasty, are congregated like the leaves of the forest, and spread out in the shepherd's plain; but your hosts being banded together in their undertakings, the Supreme Ruler will be with you, and raise your mind above hesitation."

Here we have the Supreme Ruler brought in as the God of battles, sustaining the patriotic defenders of their country's liberty by his presence, raising them above doubt, and giving them the victory they look for.

In the same Canto, in the section entitled 皇矣 Hwâng é, the words 帝 Ruler, and 上帝 Supreme Ruler, are used interchangeably and frequently occur; we shall therefore translate the larger part of it. It begins with a reference to the times of T'haé-wâng, T'haé-pih, and Wâng-k'hé, the ancestors of Wăn-wâng, when they commenced their military operations, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of their family.

"How majestic is the Supreme Ruler! looking down on this lower world, how gloriously does he shine! Casting his glance around on all quarters, he seeks the peaceful settlement of the people. Seeing that the two former dynasties (of Hëá and Shang) had failed in their practice of government, he then, throughout the four quarters of the empire, sought and considered (that he might find a proper person to settle the people); whereupon he, the Supreme Ruler, brought forward this family, increasing their wise regulations, and enlarging their borders, while he regarded this, their western land, and gave them the city of Pŏ."

The paraphrase on the above passage is as follows: That majestic One, the Supreme Ruler, although lofty and exalted, and dwelling on high, yet condescends to regard this lower world, and gloriously displays his bright designs. His purpose, in surveying the four quarters of the world, is none other than to seek the peaceful settlement of the people, so that not one individual may be deprived of that which should promote his life and growth. But though the settlement of the people be High Heaven's main design, yet the most important thing in settling the people is, the selection of a proper prince. Now these two dynasties of Hëá and Shang, have not followed out

the course that would lead to the settlement of the people, and having erred in the matter of government, they could not carry out the celestial design, and continue to be the lords of the living ; the Supreme Ruler thus looked abroad among the surrounding states, enquiring and calculating, in order to ascertain who was the sovereign best calculated for tranquillizing the people, and be the one whom He would wish to promote ; whereupon he enlarged the borders and improved the regulations (of the Chow dynasty,) that they might have some foundation on which to rest the fortunes of their family.

In the above passage, we have especial reference to the exalted majesty of the Supreme, and are yet told that he takes especial cognizance of the affairs of men, and selects such sovereigns as may be most likely to fulfil his bright designs, in order to promote the tranquillity of the people. What more distinct reference could we have to the attributes of the Deity, and how could we mistake in designating the Being thus alluded to God ?

The Chow family, having obtained a footing in the western territory, found it necessary to clear away the wilderness, they therefore

"Pulled up and cleared the dead and dry sticks, they rounded off and arranged the bushes and rows of trees, they opened out and removed the willows and hollies, while they clipped and pruned the different kinds of mulberry ; thus the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler having conducted thither that intelligent and virtuous prince (T'haé-wâng), the barbarians removed, and took their departure, while Heaven granted the prince an amiable partner, and conferred upon him a firm decree, (constituting his family paramount lords of the empire.)"

To T'haé-wâng succeeded Wâng-k'hé, in whose days

"The 帝 (Supreme) Ruler observed the hill, (where they were settled,) and perceiving that the briars and thorns were pulled up, and the firs and larches formed into rows, (knew that the people had resorted thither in great numbers) ; the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, therefore, having formed a country for them, also raised up a virtuous sovereign (who could preside over it) ; for from the time of T'haé-pih and Wâng-k'hé, (he had passed his decree in their favour.) Now this Wâng-k'hé was naturally of a fraternal disposition, and displayed great kindness towards his elder brother, (who notwithstanding yielded the throne to him.) (Wâng-k'hé) then advanced the prosperity (of Chow,) and manifested his glory ; receiving the (Heaven-conferred) emolument, without letting it slip ; after which (the influence of his family) was extended over all quarters of the empire.

"With regard to this Wâng-k'hé, the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler regulated his mind, and silently diffused his excellent fame, thus his virtuous nature became enlightened, and being en-

lightened, he was discriminative; he was also fit for becoming an indefatigable instructor and a righteous sovereign, that he might rule over this great country; he was also able to render the people harmonious and kind; until the time of Wăn-wâng his qualities left no unpleasant recollections; but having received the blessing of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, he was enabled to communicate it to his descendant.

"The 帝 (Supreme) Ruler then (as it were) addressed Wăn-wâng, saying, 'Do not be thus (with selfish motives) picking and choosing, do not be thus (with covetous desires) craving and asking; (if you were not drowned in these evil passions) you would greatly attain to the presages (of knowledge), and advance towards the shore (of perfect virtue.)' At that time, the men of Meĭh were disrespectful, and daring to attack the great country, had invaded the Yuen state, as far as the city of Kung, when Wăn-wâng displayed one burst of anger, and drawing up the armies of Chow, he stopped the progress of the invading force, thus consolidating Chow's prosperity, and answering the expectations of the empire.

"The 帝 (Supreme) Ruler then addressed Wăn-wâng, saying, 'I have well considered your intelligent virtue, that it does not consist in multiplying boisterous sounds and flaming colours, nor in setting forth extravagance and variety, (possessing knowledge and understanding,) and yet appearing as if ignorant and unconscious, you follow out the laws of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler (in order to attain perfection.) Therefore I, the (Supreme) Ruler, direct you, Wăn-wâng, to investigate the state of your adversary's country, in conjunction with your allied brethren, and taking your scaling ladders and your moving towers, go to the attack of the earl of Tsung, in his city of Yung."

In the whole of the above sentences, we have the most evident indications of the special and universal government of the Supreme; it was He who selected the abode of the favoured family, He who raised up for them a virtuous sovereign, (Wâng-k'hé,) He who regulated his mind, and diffused abroad his fame, while He blessed him in the bestowment of a virtuous descendant (Wăn-wâng); to this descendant, the Supreme Ruler is represented as addressing his commands, directing him to avoid the vices of selfishness and covetousness, and approving of the unostentatious virtue which he displayed, whilst he followed out the laws of the Supreme. In all this what evident traces do we find, not only of the supremacy of God, but of his direct interference in the affairs of mankind, bestowing blessings on the virtuous, who act according to his will, and chastising the disobedient. Surely every thing, but what is peculiar to the Christian Revelation, in the character and attributes of the Deity, is exhibited

in this account of the Supreme Ruler, given in the ancient classics of the Chinese.

In the ode called 生民 Săng-mìn, we have a strange reference to the miraculous conception of How-tseïh, the first ancestor of the Chow dynasty, which the poet adduces to account for How-tseïh's being associated with Heaven, in having divine honours paid to him. The ode is as follows:

"The first bringing forth of our family, originated with the lady Kĕang-yuên. How were our people then born? (It was in this way.) (The lady in question) was enabled to present sacrifices and offerings, setting forth her childless condition, (and asking for a son,) when she (suddenly) trod on the great toe of a foot-print made by a 帝 Divine person, and felt affected and moved. She then selected the place where she had been thus distinguished for her residence, and as soon as she quickened, she reverently retired to a separate abode; in due time she brought forth and nourished a son, which was none other than How-tseïh, (the first ancestor of the Chow family.)"

The paraphrast tells us, that after having offered her sacrifice, and prayed for a son, the Supreme Ruler, observing her stillness and sincerity, caused her to see the foot-print of some gigantic individual, and she treading in the impress of the great toe, felt an unusual commotion within her, as though she had become pregnant; at the due period, she brought forth a son, and called him How-tseïh.

"When the months of pregnancy were completed, she brought forth her first-born son, as easily as a lamb (is born into the world); there was no bursting nor tearing, no trouble nor sorrow, in order to shew the miraculous nature (of the conception:) does not this shew that the Supreme Ruler was pacified, and accepted of her sacrifice, granting her thus easily to bring forth a son?"

In the above description, the Roman Catholics fancy much resemblance to the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, and frequently adduce it in illustration of that extraordinary event. The last paragraph speaks of the Chow family honouring their ancestor How-tseïh, by associating him with Heaven in sacrifice, and says,

"When we fill the trenchers, even the trenchers and bowls, (with the sacrificial viands,) no sooner does the fragrance ascend upwards, than the Supreme Ruler smells a sweet savour. How fragrant and truly opportune is this offering! For from the time when How-tseïh first presented his sacrifice, we have since had no crimes to repent of, even to the present day."

In the paraphrase on the above paragraph, Speaking of the fragrance of the sacrifice ascending, the writer says, that "上帝之

神 the Spirit of the Supreme Ruler approvingly comes down to enjoy it." As this is the first instance in which we have met with the expression we draw attention to it.

In the Ode called 板 Pàn, we have some complaints regarding Lé-wâng, who by his tyrannical conduct brought miseries on the people, and induced the Supreme Ruler to reverse his usual course, and send down calamities on mankind. The ode begins thus:

"The Supreme Ruler has reversed (his usual course of proceeding,) and caused the lower people to be exceedingly pained; while you (instead of endeavouring to remedy the evil) give utterance to expressions which are not in accordance with reason, and lay plans which are also not calculated for perpetuity; you are saying, that since there are now no sages in existence, you can do as you like, without maintaining good principles. Furthermore, you are insincere in your professions, and not merely short-sighted in your plans; we therefore make use of this great reproof, (that you may do something to regain the lost favour of the Supreme.)"

In the above passage, calamities as well as blessings are supposed to come from above, and in times of trouble, reformation is insisted on, that the evil decreed may not come upon the people.

In the Ode called 蕩 T'hang, we have another reference to the calamitous changes brought about by the tyrannical conduct of Lé-wâng in the setting forth of which the writer indulges in a tone of angry complaint, which is considered reprehensible, even by the Chinese themselves. The poet thus exclaims,

"The vast and extensive Supreme Ruler is the governor of the nations; but how is it that this oppressive autocrat has decreed to bestow on us such a corrupt nature? when Heaven produced the multitudes of people (it certainly decreed on them a virtuous nature); but the celestial decree is not to be depended on; at the first, indeed, (human nature) was invariably (good), but since that time few have been able to carry it out to a (good) termination."

In the above passage the writer commences by an improper complaint of the Divine Being for giving such passions to men, as should lead them astray; something like the ungodly murmurs against the Divine arrangements, which we not unfrequently meet with in the western world: but he suddenly checks himself by saying, that Heaven certainly decreed a virtuous nature for mankind, and the present obliquity of human conduct arises from men not having carried out their virtuous nature to perfection: how strongly does this remind us of the words of Holy Writ, God made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions.

In the 7th verse of the same Ode, the poets alludes to

Wăn-wâng's remonstrances, regarding the misrule of the Yin dynasty, bringing down calamities on the people.

"Wăn-wâng said, Oh you ruler of the Yin dynasty! it is not that the Supreme Ruler has brought these calamitous times upon us, but it is because you have not made use of the former things; for although there may be no longer any of the old experienced ministers surviving, there are still the ancient regulations in existence; how is it then that you have not attended to them, and thus occasioned the subversion of the great decree (in your favour.)"

Here the writer endeavours to clear the character of the Supreme Ruler from the charge of having wantonly brought the calamities in question upon the people, and ascribes it to human governors, who had forsaken the counsel of the old men, and the wholesome laws already in existence, to follow their own pernicious ways.

In the Ode called 雲漢 Yûn hán, the minister of Jìng-shĭh admires the reformation of Seun-wâng, who seeing the desolations occasioned by his father Le-wâng's tyranny, and by his own misrule, as well as observing the threatened judgments of Heaven, remodelled his government, and adopted a virtuous course. The poet says,

"How lofty is yon milky way, shining and revolving in the heavens! The king (knowing the nightly appearance of the milky way to be indicative of clear weather, and so threatening continued drought), said, Alas! what have these poor people done, that Heaven should send down such confusion, and cause famines and desolations again to visit us. There is not a Shîn that we have not sacrificed to, we have not been sparing of our sacrificial animals, and have brought forward the whole of our gems (to present them upon the altars.) How is it then that (our prayers) are not heard?" The poet proceeds,

"Seeing that the drought is thus excessive, and the oppressive heat increasing, we have not ceased to offer sacrifices, from the sacrifice to Heaven, to that presented to ancestors; to the invisible beings above and below we have poured out libations and interred the victims; there is not a Shîn that we have not honoured, and yet our first ancestor How-tseĭh cannot assist us, while the Supreme Ruler will not come down to our relief; how is it that this wasting and desolation, coming down upon the country, has occurred in our reign?"

The difference here put between the first ancestor and the Supreme Ruler is worthy of remark; of the former it is hinted, that he could not if he would, and of the latter that he would not, though he could, relieve them. Giving their ancestor credit for good wishes but ascribing all the power to the Supreme; who for wise reasons did not see fit to help them. The writer goes on to say,

"This drought having become very great, it cannot be avoided, so that we tremble and are alarmed, as when the thunders rattle over our heads; the poor remnant of the Chow people, will soon have not half a man left; the Supreme Ruler of the glorious Heavens, has not even exempted me (the sovereign), how then can I avoid the expression of alarm, lest my ancestors (by the extinction of their family,) should be utterly exterminated (and have no one to offer sacrifices to them.)

"This drought becoming increasingly severe, the hills and rivers are divested of vegetation and moisture (literally cleaned out); the demon of drought acts out his oppressions, so that we are scorched and burnt, and our minds being distressed with this summer heat, feel as though they were dried up; I have appealed to (the manes of) the former dukes and correct ministers, but they pay no attention to me; why does not the Supreme Ruler of the glorious Heavens grant me a method of escape!"

Here again, the distinction between the manes of ancestors and the Supreme Ruler, as to the ability to interfere in their behalf, is apparent. The demon of drought is by the commentator called a Shîn.

"The drought being more and more severe, (I would certainly go away and escape from its effects) but I put a constraint upon myself, and do not dare to leave my post; yet how is it that I am afflicted with this drought? I am unable to divine the cause; in praying for a prosperous year, I have been sufficiently early; in sacrificing to the lares of the four quarters of the land, I have not been negligent; but the Supreme Ruler of the glorious Heavens does not estimate my devotedness; having been thus respectful 明 神 to intelligent and invisible beings, I ought not to have been exposed to wrath and displeasure."

In the 周 頌 Chow-súng Canto, we have the 執 競 Chĭh-king Ode, which was composed to be sung when sacrifices were offered to Woò-wâng, Chîng-wâng, and K'hang-wâng; it commences thus:

"How vigorous in maintaining self-control was Woò-wâng, while none were able to control him, on account of his energy; (he was succeeded by) Chîng and K'hang, who were also celebrated, and thus the Supreme Ruler made them sovereigns."

Here the Supreme Ruler is represented as constituting them sovereigns of the empire, on account of their virtue.

In the next Ode, called 思 文 Sze wăn, we have 帝 Té used for the (Supreme) Ruler; speaking of How-tseĭh, the

first ancestor of the Chow dynasty, who taught the people husbandry, the writer says,

"The accomplished How-tseih, could be associated with Heaven, (in the honors paid to him;) for the giving of corn to us multitudes of people was doubtless owing to his extreme virtue; it was he that left us the (knowledge of) wheat and barley, which the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler has appointed for universal nourishment; thus (the people have had leisure to attend to the cultivation of their minds, and) there is was no longer any difference between this border and that limit, but the five constant virtues are set forth throughout the empire of China."

The next Ode is on the subject of husbandry likewise,

"Oh you, ministers presiding over the public works, be respectful in your duties; the king has bestowed upon you perfect regulations; do you come hither to consult and consider them.

"Oh you, assistant agricultural officers, just now in the 3rd month of spring what have you to attend to? you have to see how they get on with their new fields: oh how beautiful does the wheat and barley appear! which we receive as the bright gift (of the Supreme): may the bright and glorious Supreme Ruler give us a plentiful harvest; tell all your labourers to prepare their hoes and weeding instruments, and to look after their reap-hooks, (to be ready) for cutting down (the crop.)

Here the husbandman is directed to look to the Supreme Ruler for a plentiful harvest, which is considered the bright gift of that glorious being.

In the Canto called 魯頌 Loo-sung, and the 閟宮 Pe-kung Ode, the poet is admiring He-kung for repairing and beautifying the temple of How-tseih, saying, "How deep are the recesses of the temple! how still and retired! how firm the foundations, and how compact the roof! (The mother of our race) was that glorious Këang-yuen, whose virtues were incorruptible, so that the Supreme Ruler regarded her with favour, and caused her, without sorrow or pain, when her time of pregnancy was fulfilled, to bring forth How-tseih; by means of him a hundred blessings have been vouchsafed, for he taught us to distinguish the various kinds of millet, and to plant the early and latter sorts of grain, on which account he was promoted to the sovereignty of our state, and carried out the merits of the great Yù."

In the above passage we are forcibly reminded of expressions occuring in Luke I. 29, 30. and cannot help recognizing, in the Supreme Ruler of the Chinese classic, Him by whose favour all blessings accrue to men

In the 商頌 Nân-Súng Canto, and the 玄鳥 Heuên-neaòu Ode, the people of Shang allude to their progenitor Sëë, and his miraculous conception, in the following strain :

"Heaven commanded the dark-coloured swallow to come down and produce Shang. after which those who dwelt at Yin were crowded and numerous. At the beginning (of our dynasty) the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler ordered the martial T'hang (the founder of the Shang dynasty) to regulate the borders throughout all the four quarters of the land."

The commentator here says, that the lady Këen-teih, was offering a sacrifice to Heaven, with the view of obtaining a son, when a swallow let fall an egg, which Këen-teih swallowing, brought forth Sëë ; his son afterwards became the ancestor of the Shang dynasty.

In the next Ode. called 長發 Chang-fă, the poet refers back to the ancestors of the Shang dynasty, saying,

"The 帝 (Supreme) Ruler's decree was not opposed. until Ching-t'hang appeared; Ching-t'hang's birth was very opportune, and his sacred feeling of respect daily mounted (higher and higher) until it reached to heaven, and continued long : towards the Supreme Ruler he was respectful, and the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler directed him to become a pattern to the nine provinces."

Here reverence for the Supreme Ruler is considered the height of virtue, which led to the appointment of the person manifesting it to be a pattern to the empire. The word Ruler is here as elsewhere used interchangeably with Supreme Ruler.

Passing over from the Book of Odes, we come to that of Rites, in the third volume of which. in the 王制 Wâng-chè sect. and on the 9th page, we have the following sentence :

"When an emperor is about to go out (to inspect the various states) he offers 類 a corresponding sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, he also presents a 宜 suitable sacrifice to the 社 *lares rustici*, and a ceremony, entitled 造 drawing near, to his ancestors. When a prince of the empire goes out (to pay court to the emperor) he offers a suitable sacrifice to the *lares rustici*, and draws near in worship to his ancestors."

It is well known that the Chinese have a notion that the supreme on earth only is worthy to offer sacrifice to the Supreme in heaven, while inferiors among men are permitted to worship those who are considered inferiors among invisible beings. This notion, however erroneous, shews what estimate they entertain of him whom they consider the Supreme Ruler.

In the same volume, 月令 Yuĕ-ling, sect. and 43d page, we have an account of the imperial ploughing.

"On that month (the first of spring) the emperor appropriated

the first day for praying for grain to the Supreme Ruler; he then settled a lucky morning, when the emperor in person carried out the coulter and plough-share, arranging them between the three persons riding in the chariot, and amongst the armed charioteers; he then led forth the three dukes and the nine nobles, with the chiefs of the states and their great officers, who went in person to plough the imperial field; the emperor gave the plough three pushes, the three dukes five, the nobles and the chief of the states nine, (after which the people completed the work.) They then returned and held up the goblet in the great recess of the ancestorial temple, when the three dukes, the nine nobles, the chiefs of the states and their great officers, all in obedience to the imperial command, were rewarded with a feast of wine."

This ceremony of ploughing on the first month of spring is still continued, and is observed, not only by the emperor at Peking, but by the officers of each district throughout the whole empire.

In the same section, page 60, the writer describes what was to be done on the last month of summer, saying,

"On that month, it was commanded to the four superintendants to gather together the proper amount of provender from the hundred districts, for the purpose of feeding the sacrificial animals; requiring the people, without a single exception, to exert their utmost strength in order to serve the Supreme Ruler of the August Heavens, together with (the genii of) the famous hills and great rivers, as well as the Shîns from all quarters, while they at the same time offered the accustomed sacrifices to the spirits residing in the ancestorial temple, and at the altars of the *lares rustici*, for the purpose of praying for blessings on the people."

Further on, page 67, we have the duties to be performed at mid-autumn.

"In this month, it was commanded, to the butchers and chaplains, to go about and inspect the sacrificial animals, and *see* that they were perfect and whole; to *take account* of the provender and other food; to *notice* whether the animals were fat or lean; to *examine* their colours, and arrange them according to kinds; to *ascertain* by weight whether their bodies were large or small, and by measurement whether their horns were long or short, and get them all of the middling kind; these five things being found to be fully prepared and suitable, the Supreme Ruler would accept of them, (how much more, adds the commentator, the host of Shîns.")

In Vol. IV. in the section called 禮運 Lè-yún, and on the 48th page, after describing the primeval condition of the Chinese, as originally ignorant of the use of fire, living upon the uncooked fruits of the earth, and devouring the raw flesh

of brutes, with blood and hair, whilst they clothed themselves with skins and feathers ; the writer goes on to say,

" Afterwards the sages arose, and then they understood the advantages of fire, moulding metal and forming earthenware ; they also made terraces and sheds, rooms and houses, doors and windows ; they had moreover chops and steaks, with boiled and roast meats, added to which were wine and vinegar ; they proceeded to manufacture hemp and silk, in order to make cloth and silk stuffs, that thus they might support the living and inter the dead, as well as serve the Kweì Shîns, and the Supreme Ruler ; for the accomplishment of all of which matters men are indebted to the inventors of these things."

The disposal of the Kweì Shîns first, and the mention of the Supreme Ruler afterwards, in this instance, is probably for the sake of euphony, or to complete the climax ; for it should be observed that the writer is passing from the living to the dead, and then on to the Kweì Shîns, until he reaches the highest object of reverence, the Supreme Ruler.

In the 5th volume of the Book of Rites, page 15, we read,

" Thus it was that the people of the Loò country, when they were about to do service to the Supreme Ruler, always performed a ceremony first in the princes' hall of learning ; so the Tsin people when they were about to sacrifice to the Yellow River, first presented an offering to the rivulet Hoo-to ; and in like manner the men of Tse, when they had to do homage to the great mountain, first paid their compliments to the Pei grove. For the same reasons, they kept the victim (intended to be sacrificed to the Supreme Ruler) three months in the stall ; they also put themselves under restriction for seven days, and shut themselves up in seclusion for three days, all in order to shew the extreme of careful respect."

The commentator says, that this connects the idea of the former sentence, which speaks of two princes, when they visit each other, shewing some gradation in the ceremonies they employ ; hence the writer goes on to say, that in sacrificing some gradual approaches must be observed, from the mean to the honourable.

In the 17th page of the same volume, we read,

" Therefore the former kings of ancient times, esteemed the virtuous, honoured the correct, and employed the capable ; they elevated clever men, and placed them in posts of usefulness ; they also assembled the multitudes and laid them under an oath. Thus it was that, regarding (the exalted position of) heaven, they served Heaven (with the highest ceremonies) ; and observing (the lower place assigned to) earth, they paid deference to earth accordingly ; also contemplating the famous hills, they brought up the just actions

(of the princes of the different parts) to the attention of Heaven; and noticing the felicitous sites (of their capitals), they sacrificed to the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler at the border of the country. When they brought up just actions to the notice of Heaven, the phœnixes and felicitous birds descended, while the dragons and tortoises approached. When they sacrificed to the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler at the border of the country, the winds and rains were moderate, while the heat and cold were seasonable. On this account the wise (sovereigns) stood facing the south, and the empire was well-regulated."

On the 21st page, of the same section, we read,

"To sacrifice to the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler at the border of the country is, the extreme of respect: the services performed in the ancestorial temple, proceed from the extreme of benevolence; funeral ceremonies indicate the extreme of fidelity; the preparation of the shroud and bier, arises from the extreme of benevolence; the use of presents in entertaining strangers shews the extreme of righteousness: therefore when the good man wishes to attend to the duties of benevolence and righteousness, he takes his foundation from the use of ceremonies."

In the 5th volume of the Book of Rites. page 23. we read,

"In offering the celestial sacrifice a smaller victim was employed while in sacrificing to the *lares rustici* a full-grown ox was used; so also when the emperor went on a visit of inspection to the princes, the princes prepared a young calf for his food; while on the occasion of the princes paying court to the emperor, the emperor gave them a full-grown ox as a present; the reason of the former being prepared, was to shew the importance of sincerity. Therefore the emperor would not eat of an animal slaughtered in the state of pregnancy; such animals also were not used in sacrificing to the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler."

The commentator says, When the essence of a thing is brought forward, the smaller it is the better, therefore in the two instances above referred to, the greatest honour was put on the smaller animals, and less on the larger victims. A calf has not the feeling of gender very strong, hence it is said, that such a tender victim was employed, to shew the importance of sincerity. The word Ruler, here refers to the Supreme Ruler, respecting whom Choo-foo-tszè says, That if we concentrate all the 神 明 inscrutabilities and invisibilities of heaven into one focus, and speak of such a being, we call him the Supreme Ruler.

In Vol. V. in the section entitled 郊 特 牲 Keaou-tih-sang, page 34, directions are given as to what was to be done

when the celestial sacrifice was offered; on this occasion How-tseïh (who, as we have seen, was the ancestor of the Chow dynasty, and supposed to be miraculously brought forth, was associated with Heaven in the sacrifice offered to the Supreme Ruler, for this purpose two oxen were prepared, one for each; respecting which the writer says,

"When the ox dedicated to the service of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler is found to be an infelicitous one, use should be made of the one appointed for sacrificing to How-tseïh; for the (Supreme) Ruler's ox must be kept up in the stall for three months: the ox designed for sacrificing to How-tseïh requires only to be perfect in its parts; this is the way in which to distinguish between the Shin of Heaven and the Kwei of man. All things come originally from Heaven, and men spring originally from their first ancestor: this is the reason why How-tseïh, (the first ancestor of the Chow dynasty), was associated with the Supreme Ruler in sacrifice. The celestial sacrifice is important, because it refers with gratitude to the origin of all things, and turns the attention back on the ancestor from whom we first sprang."

In the above sentence, the difference made between the ox dedicated to the Supreme Ruler, and that to How-tseïh, is said to be, to mark the distinction between the Shîn of Heaven and the Kwei of man. The Kwei of a man, must refer to the ghost of How-tseïh, and by consequence the Shîn of Heaven to the Spirit of the Supreme Ruler. As this is the first instance in the text of the classics, in which we have met with the Supreme Ruler being called the Shîn or spirit of Heaven, we will enter a little more fully into it. In the first section which we gave from the Book of Odes, the commentator says, that the Supreme Ruler is 天之神 the Shîn of Heaven, or the spiritual part of heaven; and in the commentary on the first sentence of the chapter now under consideration the writer says' "上帝即天也聚天之神而言之則謂之上帝 the Supreme Ruler is Heaven; were we to collect the invisibilities and intelligences of Heaven together, and endeavour to express the idea in one word, we should use the term Supreme Ruler." From which we infer that the writer would consider the Supreme Ruler as the concentration of all the spiritual essences of Heaven, or all the vitality and efficaciousness of nature (in idea) brought to a focus, and constituting one Supreme Being; combining the supremacy and majesty of heaven, with the activity and animation of the energies of nature. We do not know that the Chinese language is capable of expressing more fully the idea entertained by the natives of God than the above passage represents; it has its defects, and its mistakes, but how could we expect a heathen unenlightened mind to approach nearer to the truth. Ought we not instead of seeking to discover its flaws, rejoice that so much correctness is contained in the sentiment,

and endeavour to make what use of it we can, in order to give the Chinese a more consistent and scriptural idea of the Divine Being.

In vol. VI. in the section called 大傳 Tá-foó, page 59, we have an account of the doings of Woò-wâng, after the conquest of the Shang dynasty, and the death of the tyrant Chów.

"At the shepherd's plain occurred the great affair of Woò-wâng. Having completed the business (above spoken of.) he retired and presented a burnt-offering to the Supreme Ruler, he likewise prayed to the *lares rustici*, and poured out a drink-offering at the shepherd's lodge. Then leading on the princes of the empire who held the sacrificial vessels, and hastening to the service, he looked back (to his ancestors) and honoured as kings T'haé-wâng, who was also called Tan-foò, Wâng-k'hé, likewise named Leĭh, and Wăn-wâng, whose private designation was Ch'hang, that he might not bring those of lower rank into competition with the higher."

The burnt-offering appears to have been offered solely to Heaven and its Ruler.

In vol. IX. in the sect. called 表記 Peaòu-ké, page 41, we read,

"Confucius, when speaking of the good man being perfectly exact in his conduct, intimates that both noble and mean should take their part in the business of the world. Thus the emperor goes in person to plough that he might provide the contents of the sacrificial vessels, with the black millet and fragrant wine used in worship, in order to serve the Supreme Ruler; and as a consequence of that, the princes of the empire are diligent in helping and aiding the emperor."

Here the Supreme Ruler is set forth as the chief object of worship, whom it is the business of the emperor to do his utmost in serving, in order to induce the princes to do their duty towards him.

Further on, page 52, we read,

"Confucius, has made the observation, that formerly, during the time of the three dynasties, all intelligent kings (whenever they) served the invisible beings of heaven and earth, invariably made use of divinations, that they might not follow out their own private views and predilections in serving the Supreme Ruler.

These divinations were for the sake of finding out the proper days for such services, and in order to ascertain whether the animals chosen were felicitous or not.

We now pass on to the Book of Diagrams, and in the 豫 Yû (concord) Diagram, page 46, we thus read,

"The form of the diagram suggests the idea, that when the thunder bursts forth, and the earth is moved, there is cor-

responding concord. Thus the ancient kings invented music, in order to promote virtue, and they especially performed it before the Supreme Ruler, whilst they associated with him in worship their ancestors and deceased parents."

The commentator on this passage says, that when the earth is moved at the bursting forth of thunder, this is the essence of harmony; the early kings invented music, to resemble it in sound, and also took from it the idea of concord.

The paraphrase says, Thunder, at its commencement, seems to have its sound concealed in the earth; and when it bursts forth, and makes the earth rattle with its sound, it seems to arouse the harmonious feeling of heaven and earth, and display the vitality of the myriad of things, which is the very essence of harmony and the exhibition of concord. The former kings borrowed the idea of the rolling thunder, to suggest the notion of harmony, and thus formed instruments of music; they composed odes and songs, which were played upon the harp and guitar, and to the sound of bells and drums, thus giving expression to their compositions; they also invented dances and gambols, which were exhibited by the brandishing of staves and axes, with the waving of feathers and cow's tails, thus giving figure to their performances; in this way they admired and honoured the excellence of mental virtue, and the elevation of useful acquirements; while music was intended for the admiration of virtue. The court and government invariably made use of music, but the highest use to which music was applied was, at the winter solstice, in sacrificing to the Supreme Ruler, at the round hillock, when the first ancestor was associated in the worship; also at the third month of autumn in presenting offerings to the (Supreme) Ruler, in the illustrious hall, when deceased parents were included in the honours paid. Thus when music was invented in order to honour virtue, then human beings were harmonized; and when they played up music, in order to sacrifice to invisible beings, then *they* were gratified. So great is the merit of the ancient kings, in embodying the spirit of concord.

In the above passage, the highest use to which mucic is said to be applied was, in sacrificing to the Supreme Ruler. It is true they associated ancestors in the honours paid, but that was because they considered the Supreme as the origin of all things, while they looked upon their ancestors as the origin of their particular family.

In the 益 Yih, or Benefit Diagram, page 24, we have a reference to the use of this diagram "by kings, in the worship of the (Supreme) Ruler, which is said to be fortunate." The whole passage refers to the condescension of rulers to their subjects; but, as the paraphrast says, "the Supreme Ruler is above kings, and all kings are subject to him."

In the 鼎 Ting, or Caldron Diagram, page 40, we read, "The determinate meaning of this diagram has reference to the form of a caldron; which, having fuel placed under it, may be used for cooking food; the sages boiled flesh in it, in order to sacrifice to the (Supreme) Ruler, but the great

boiling was employed for the support of the wise and good men (about the court.)"

The commentator says, that the form of the article is here employed, for the purpose of explaining the meaning of the diagram, and the chief uses to which the caldron was applied are referred to. In sacrificing to the (Supreme) Ruler, sincerity is the principal thing, and therefore a single calf was offered; but in the support of good men, the ceremony of the stalled ox, to provide breakfast and supper, must be carried out to the utmost perfection; therefore the provision for them is called a great boiling.

The paraphrast endeavours to draw a resemblance between the form of the caldron, in its three legs, round belly, two ears, and cross bar, to the numbers of the calculations employed in the diagrams. Besides which, wood being added to the fire, the food within is cooked, and the use of the caldron is carried out. The caldron is employed in boiling meat for sacrifices and entertainments; when the sages sacrificed to the Supreme Ruler, in order thankfully to acknowledge his favours, they used a single victim, and were obliged to employ the caldron in boiling the flesh, after which they could make known their sincerity; also in nourishing good men, in order to testify a sense of their virtues, they prepared a feast; on such occasions they were necessitated to make use of the caldron, to prepare the food, and then only could they shew their respect; great sacrifices and great entertainments thus depending on the caldron, how important was its application!

In the above passage the motive and manner of sacrificing to the Supreme Ruler are hinted at, viz. gratitude for favours, and sincerity of feeling, shewing that they regarded him as the author of their blessings, and the searcher of their hearts.

In the Fourth section of the Book of Diagrams, 5th chapter, we thus read:

" The 帝 (Supreme) Ruler (causes things to) issue forth under the 震 Chin diagram (representing thunder, and corresponding to the commencement of spring;) he equally adjusts them under the 巽 Seuen diagram (representing wind, and corresponding to mid-spring): he (causes them to be) mutually exhibited under the 離 Lê diagram (representing fire, and corresponding to the beginning of summer;) he renders them serviceable (to mankind) under the 坤 Kwăn diagram (representing earth, and corresponding to mid-summer:) he (makes them to draw forth) pleasing words under the 兌 T'huy diagram, (representing sea, and corresponding to the beginning of autumn); (he makes them to) contend under the 乾 Këen diagram (representing heaven, and corresponding to mid-autumn); he renders them soothing and gratifying under the 坎 K'han diagram (representing water, and

corresponding to the commencement of winter); while he makes them complete the account under the 艮 Kăn diagram (representing hills, and corresponding to mid-winter.)

The commentator says, that the word 帝 Ruler means, 天之主宰 the Lord and Governor of heaven. Shaou-tsze adds the remark, That the position of the diagrams, here referred to, are those fixed by Wăn-wâng, and are ascribed to the study of the later ages of antiquity.

The paraphrase says, The scheme of the diagrams invented by Wăn-wâng, and belonging to the school of later antiquity, connects the revolutions of a whole year. When Heaven produces and completes the myriad of things, at the same time ruling and governing them, the title given to that Being is the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, whose goings forth and returnings are in some sort alluded to, in this arrangement of the diagrams, published by the school of later antiquity. This scheme commences with the Chin diagram, (representing early spring), when the (Supreme) Ruler issues forth, and causes the energies of nature's mechanism to bud and move; then follows the 巽 Seuen diagram, (corresponding to mid-spring), and when the energies of nature's mechanism come to this point, they are fully developed, and well-adjusted; thus the equable adjustment (of nature) takes place under the Seuen diagram. Next follows the Lê diagram, representing early summer, and when the energies of nature's mechanism arrive at this point, they are brightly glorious and eminently displayed, thus the works of nature are mutually visible at the period of the Le diagram. Next follows the Kwăn diagram, corresponding to mid-summer, at which time the energies of nature's mechanism put forth their utmost strength and fullest capabilities, in extending the means of nourishment; thus the rendering of nature's energies serviceable, takes place at the period of the Kwăn diagram. Next comes the T'huy diagram, corresponding to the commencement of autumn, at which time the energies of nature's mechanism are fully complete, and becomes productive of joy and delight; thus the drawing forth of pleasing expressions takes place at the period of the T'huy diagram. After this we have the Këen diagram, correspondtng to mid-autumn: at this time the energies of nature's mechanism become severe and rigid, while the male and female principles of nature fight and strive together; thus the contendings of nature take place at the period of the Këen diagram. Then comes the K'han diagram, corresponding to early winter, at which time the energies of nature's mechanism rest and subside, and produce comfort and gratification: thus soothings and gratifyings take place under the K'han diagram. Lastly comes the Kăn diagram, corresponding to mid-winter, at which time the series terminates, and also begins afresh, conveying at the same time the idea of perfection and commencement; thus the completion of the annual series takes place at the period of the Kăn diagram. In this way nature's operations proceed from the first bursting forth to the equable adjustment, even to the

mutual exhibition, in which we see the (Supreme) Ruler animating the issuings forth of nature's springs. After that nature has been serviceable to man, then the issuings forth turn round and look towards the retractings ; thus from the affording of pleasure and the exhibition of contention, until the promoting of gratification, we see the (Supreme) Ruler encouraging the revertings of nature's springs, and completing the series : when from the enterings in, nature again goes on to the issuings forth. This series commencing at the Chin diagram, ends at the Kăn diagram, and completes the circuit of the year ; while the mysteries of revolution are exhibited in the midst of the whole.

The next paragraph contains a broader elucidation of the same idea.

"The myriad of things come forth under the Chin diagram, which is disposed (in the scheme of Wăn-wâng) at the eastern quarter ; they are equably adjusted under the Seuen diagram, which is placed in the south-east ; the words equably adjusting convey the idea of the purity and exactness of the myriad of things. The idea conveyed by the Lê diagram is that of brightness, when the myriad of things are all mutually exhibited, and this is the diagram assigned to the south quarter ; hence the idea of the wise kings of antiquity sitting with their faces towards the south to listen to (the complaints of their subjects throughout) the empire, and thus looking towards the bright quarter in administering their rule, is taken from this. The Kwăn diagram represents earth, which affords nourishment for the myriad of things ; hence it is said, that the (Supreme) Ruler renders things serviceable to man under the Kwăn diagram. Mid-autumn is the period when the myriad of things are delighted ; hence it is said, that (the Supreme Ruler) brings forth expressions of gladness, under the T'huy diagram. Contendings take place under the Këen diagram, which is the diagram assigned to the north-west quarter ; it means that at the period alluded to the male and female principles contend together. The K'an diagram represents water, and is assigned to the north quarter. This soothing diagram is that to which the myriad of things reverts ; hence it is said, he soothes living things under the K'han diagram. The Kăn diagram is assigned to the north-east quarter, where all things complete their termination ; this is also the point at which they fully commence ; hence it is said, that he completes the account under the Kăn diagram."

The commentator says, That the first paragraph of this chapter speaks of the (Supreme) Ruler, while this talks of the myriad of things issuing forth or reverting, according to the will of the Supreme.

The paraphrase says, The 帝之神 wonderful influence of the Supreme Ruler, pervades every thing without being limited by

space, while the transformation and production of things has a certain order, therefore we may illustrate the outgoings and incomings of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler by the issuings forth and revertings of things. The budding and springing of the myriad of things is their issuing forth, and takes place under the Chin diagram , the position assigned to which is in the east, and the time accorded to it is the spring, when the male principle of nature springs and moves, and things come forth. When we see things thus issuing forth, we recognize the goings forth of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler. After things have come forth, they become gradually adjusted, which takes place under the Seuen diagram ; the position assigned to which is the south-east, and the period accorded to it that which borders on spring and summer ; at which time we may say, that the myriad of things are fresh and new, and perfectly adjusted. Seeing things thus equably adjusted, we recognize the adjustings of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler. The prevailing quality of the Lê diagram is brightness, when the shape and colour of every thing is brilliantly displayed. The position assigned to this diagram is the southern quarter, and the period of its prevalence is mid-summer ; just the time when things are developed and clearly displayed. When we observe things thus mutually exhibited, we recognize the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, in their display. Carrying out this idea, the wise kings of antiquity faced the south, when giving audience to the people of the empire, that they might carry out their government in the face of open day ; for they took the idea from the position and prevailing quality of the Lê diagram. The Kwăn diagram represents earth, and earth is just the soil, (from which things grow) ; the position assigned this diagram is the south-west, and the time that which borders on summer and autumn, when the energies of earth are most flourishing, and all living things depend upon the fatness of the soil for their nourishment and growth. The Kwăn diagram (or earth) puts forth its utmost strength for the benefit of living things ; that which is not sparing in the nourishment it provides, is this same Kwăn diagram (or earth.) And its being thus enabled to nourish living things, is entirely owing to the one 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, who superintends the whole ; hence it is said, that he causes nature to be serviceable under the Kwăn diagram. The position assigned to the T'huy diagram is the west, and the period appropriated to it is the autumnal equinox ; the prevailing quality of this diagram is delight, for when all the productions of the soil are well-housed, there is satisfaction and delight. Thus that which causes things to be delighted, is the T'huy diagram (or harvest,) and its being thus enabled to delight living things, is entirely owing to the one 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, who governs the whole ; hence it is said, that he causes expressions of delight to be put forth under the T'huy diagram. The position assigned to the Këen diagram is the north-west, and the period appropriated to it is the bordering of the autumnal upon the winter quarter, when the female principle of nature is more full, and the male is beginning to decline ; at this time the

leaves begin to fade and fall; thus the contending of the principles of nature, is a contending caused by the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler. The K'han diagram, when viewed in relation to the five elements, is representative of water, the position assigned to it is the north quarter, the period appropriated to it is mid-winter. Now when living things obtain water, they increase and grow, hence this is the diagram representative of soothing and gratification, rest and preservation, in the day when the myriad of things revert to their root and give up their lives; but still it is the 帝 Supreme Ruler that causes them thus to revert; hence he is said to soothe and gratify under the K'han diagram. The positon of the Kăn diagram is the north-east, and the time appropriated to it that which borders between winter and spring. At this period, the living energies of the preceding year having been gathered up, this is the way in which they complete their termination; the living energies of the next year are again put forth, which is the way in which they accomplish their commencement. Thus when we see living things completing their termination, we recognize the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler managing their completion; and when living things accomplish their commencement, we recognize the same 帝 (Supreme) Ruler opening out their commencement; hence it is said, that he completes the account under the Kăn diagram.

Then follows a chapter referring to the 神 mysterious operations of nature, which, as it will be better elucidated by considering it in its proper connection, we bring in here. In order to understand it, we must bear in mind that there were two schools which constructed schemes of the diagrams, one under Fŭh-he, and the other under Wăn-wâng, the former called 先天 the school of the earlier ancients, and the latter 後天 the school of the later ancients. These schools differ principally in the position which they assign to the diagrams; the one assuming, what the Chinese call, 分治 the divided management, and the other 交合 the blended operation. The position assigned by Fŭh-he to the eight diagrams, is as follows: 乾 Këen, or heaven, in the south, and 坤 Kwăn, or earth, in the north; 離 Lê, or fire, in the east, and 坎 K'han, or water, in the west; 震 Chin, or thunder, in the north-east, and 巽 Seuen, or wind, in the south-west; 艮 Kăn, or hills, in the north-west, and 兌 T'huy, or seas, in the south-east. Wăn-wâng's arrangement, however, was different; he assigned the Chin, or thunder diagram, to the east; the Seuen, or wind diagram, to the south-east; the Lê, or fire diagram, to the south; the Kwăn, or earth diagram, to the south-west; the T'huy, or sea diagram, to the west; the Këen, or heaven diagram, to the north-west; the K'han,

or water diagram, to the north; and the Kăn, or hill diagram, to the north-east. We must also notice a division of the diagrams, which is referred to by the Chinese writers, viz. that into parents and children, the diagrams for heaven and earth being considered the parents, or major, and the other six, the children, or minor diagrams. Bearing these various arrangements in mind, we shall be better able to understand the following account of the chapter under consideration, given by the Chinese commentator.

The scheme of the diagrams invented by the later ancients speaks of the divided management of the six minor diagrams, while that ascribed to the earlier ancients refers to the mutual blending of the same; the formation and transformation of the myriad of things is fully treated of in this scheme of the later ancients. The whole chapter speaks generally of the substance of their antithetical arrangement, and afterwards of their uses when flowing out into action. The male and female principles of nature can, when they blend together and co-operate with one another, produce and complete the myriad of things. On enquiring into the doctrine of Chang-tszè, regarding the one 神 inscrutable operation, and the two transforming powers, we shall find, that the six minor diagrams of the earlier ancients are respectively counterparts of each other, hence he speaks of two transforming powers, which is the setting up of the substance of the diagrams. But the transformations referred to by the later ancients, which complete the formation of things, are the transformations of the two principles of nature; which is the carying out of these into their uses. It is then the inscrutable union of these two transforming powers into one, which is here called the 神 mysterious operation of nature.

Having thus placed the reader in a position to understand what the Chinese think of the chapter now to be treated of, we will proceed to set before him the chapter itself.

"The 神 inscrutable (operation of nature) may be denominated the most mysterious of all things: in agitating the myriad of things there is nothing more rapid than thunder; in twirling the myriad of things there is nothing more effective than wind; in drying up the myriad of things, there is nothing more parching than fire; in satisfying the myriad of things, there is nothing more gratifying than the deep; in moistening the myriad of things, there is nothing more humid than water; in bringing to a conclusion and again commencing the myriad of things, there is nothing more perfect than the Kăn diagram, (representing hills, and corresponding to the winter season.) Thus the water and fire overtaking and

blending with each other, the thunder and wind not opposing one another, while the hills and seas are pervaded with the same breath, then can (nature) perform her transformations, and complete and perfect the myriad of things."

The commentator says, That this sentence leaves out the major diagrams (of heaven and earth,) and merely speaks of the minor diagrams (of thunder and wind, fire and water, seas and hills,) in order to exhibit what is performed by the 神 inscrutable (operations of nature); yet the arrangement observed is in accordance with the disposition of the diagrams in the preceding sentence, while at the close the writer explains their meaning.

The paraphrase says, The mysterious use of the six minor diagrams of the later ancients, is nothing different from the substantial antithesis of the same as arranged by the earlier ancients. The myriad of things changing and transforming, each corresponding to its peculiar season without failure, leaving nothing incomplete, and constituting itself thus, without knowing how it came to be thus, may be called the 神 inscrutable [operation of nature.] This mysterious [operation] seems no where present, and yet there is no place where it is not present; it does not appear to act, and yet there is nothing that it does not act upon, hence it may be called the most wonderful of all things. To arouse the living principle of the myriad of things, there is nothing so rapid as thunder; the inscrutable (operation of nature) does not agitate things, and yet that by which the thunder agitates things is this inscrutable (operation ) To twirl about and scatter the concretions and knottings of the myriad of things, there is nothing so effectual as wind ; the inscrutable operation of nature does not twirl about things, and yet that by which the wind twirls about things, is just this inscrutable operation. To dry up the myriad of things, and harden and consolidate them, there is nothing so parching as fire (or the sun) ; the inscrutable operation of nature does not dry up things, and yet that by which the fire dries up things, is just this inscrutable (operation.) To satisfy the myriad of things and fill them to the full, there is nothing so humid as water; the inscrutable operation of nature does not satisfy things, and yet that by which the deep satisfies things, is just this inscrutable (operation.) To complete and recommence the myriad of things, to collect the existing and make it revert to the non-existing; again within the non-existing to contain the germ of the existing, there is nothing so perfectly adapted for effecting all this as the Kăn diagram ; the inscrutable operation of nature does not conclude and recommence the myriad of things, and yet that by which the Kăn diagram concludes and recommences the myriad of things, is just this inscrutable operation. But according to the mysterious blending of the six minor diagrams, as arranged by the earlier ancients, the K'han and Lê diagrams, or fire and water being placed in antithesis to each other, the proper parching and moistening are fully prepared ; also the Chin and Seuen diagrams, or thunder and wind, being made to correspond with each other, the proper degree of agitating and twirling is provided ; further the Kăn and the T'huy diagrams

or seas and hills being placed opposite to each other, the just proportion of satisfying and completing is attained ; thus the placing of them in antithesis, in order to establish their substance, is just the causing of them to flow and move, in order to enlarge their use ; after which [nature] is able to cause the male principle to change, and the female principle to transform, to move and twirl, and scorch, and thus complete the commencement of things ; to satisfy and moisten, to begin and finish, and thus complete the termination of things. Thus the scheme of the later ancients is not after all different from the moulding and circumscribing alluded to by the earlier ancients.

It is evident, from the above, that the word Shîn is to be used in the sense of the inscrutable operation of nature, and is to be understood as meaning mysterious and unsearchable. There is nothing of the antithesis between 'that which is divine and that which is created,' nor do we read of 'that which is divine not being distant from the creature, and yet not contained in the creature ;' as supposed by some, who have quoted this passage with the notes upon it.

Leaving the Book of Diagrams, we pass on to the 左傳 Tsò-chuen, or Tsò's Illustration of Confucius' History of his Own Times.

In the 25th year of Sëang, the duke of Loò, we have an account of the murder of the ruler of the Tsê country, by one of his subjects, who, having set up a descendant of the deceased monarch on the throne, and constituted himself prime minister, caused the people to enter into a great oath, to defend and support the new government. There was a philosopher named Yên-tszè at court, who disapproved of these proceedings, but yet did not think it worth while openly to oppose the murderer ; he therefore took the oath with limitations, as follows : " Those who do not agree and side with the prime minister and his party (and here interrupting himself, with a sigh, he looked up to heaven and said, If I also am not faithful to my prince and devoted to my country)—let them consider the Supreme Ruler." After which he smeared his lips with the blood of the victim.

We merely adduce the above, as the only instance we have met with in the Tsò-chuen, besides what has been already quoted, to shew that the Chinese looked to the Supreme Ruler to testify to their oaths, and revenge them if broken.

We now pass on to the 周禮 Chow-lè, or Ceremonies appointed by Chow, in the first section, and 33rd page of which we read :

"The lodge-keeper attended to the arrangements of the royal lodge, in order to fit it up when occasion called for it. Thus when the king went to offer the great sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, he spread the carpet and table, and set up the large screen. Facing the sun the king sacrificed to the five 帝 Rulers (who were supposed to preside over the five

elements, and the five positions, viz. the four cardinal points, with the centre;) he set up the great lodge, and the small lodges, arranging a double awning, and a double table; when the king met the princes of the empire, the same preparations were made; on the inspection ground, he had to spread a canopy, and arrange a double awning, with a double table: and so on all occasions of sacrifice, he had to spread the sacrificial tent, and at archery matches, to fit up a double lodge."

In the 2d volume, page 1st, we have an account of the duties of the Great Baron, viz.

"To employ felicitous ceremonies to serve the Kweì Shìns, and K'hés, supposed to preside over the country:" he had also "to employ a pure sacrifice, in order to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens." Here the commentator tells us, that speaking of the form and substance (stretched over our heads) we called it heaven; but speaking of the Lord and Governor of the same, we call him 帝 God.

At the end of this chapter we have some remarks by the commentator which must not be omitted. "The Chow-lè sometimes speaks of Heaven, and sometimes of the Ruler, and then of the Supreme Ruler, and then again of the Five Rulers; and lastly of the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens. Thus the Great Baron was directed 'to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens, with a pure sacrifice;' and was separately required 'with an azure gem to do obeisance to Heaven.' So the keeper of the signets was directed 'to use a quadruple sceptre, with a single base, to do homage to Heaven,' and was besides ordered to 'do sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler.' Thus then the Supreme Ruler is not identical with Heaven, neither is Heaven synonymous with the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens. Again, 'the keeper of the lodges had to offer a great sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, spreading the mat and table, and setting up the great screen:' while he had 'to face the sun and do obeisance to the five Rulers, setting up the great lodge and the small lodges.' So also 'the keeper of the wardrobe had to [prepare the felicitous robe for the emperor] while he worshipped the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens, wearing a wide fur-dress and a crown;' in sacrificing to the five Rulers, the same ceremonies were to be employed: thus it is evident, that the five Rulers were not identical with the Supreme Ruler, and the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens was different from the five Rulers. But is then the Supreme Ruler indeed different from these? The true state of the case seems to be this: Heaven is the general appellation given to the original energy of nature; and the word Ruler is employed when that energy is displayed. If we speak merely of form and substance, then we use the word Heaven, but if we speak of the Lord and Governor of all, then we use the word 帝 God; but when we want to speak of the splendour and purity, the elevation and expansion of his energies, we call him the Supreme

Ruler of the Glorious Heavens. When, however, we refer to the five elements of water, fire, wood, metal, and earth, which are assigned by philosophers to the five cardinal points (or the four points of the compass and the centre), over which they are supposed alternately to preside, we then use the phrase five Rulers : but when we wish to unite the idea of the glorious heavens, combining it with the notion of the five Rulers, and collect all together into one object of worship, whose throne is on high, and cannot otherwise find any single apellation for that Being, we then in one word designate him the Supreme Ruler. But we understand that the Glorious Ruler controls the five elements, and revolves the transformations of nature, while the five Rulers aid the Glorious Ruler in nourishing men and things, as children do a parent, from whom they cannot be separated. So that when K'hang-chung thought that 'the Supreme Ruler was synonymous with the Five Rulers, and not equal to Heaven,' also when Wâng-sŭh considered 'the Supreme Ruler to be identical with Heaven, and not equal to the Five Rulers,' they were both mistaken."

We consider the above remarks as very conclusive, and go to shew that by the Supreme Ruler, who was the chief object of worship, and whose throne was on high, controlling the elements, and revolving the transformations of nature, the Chinese meant none other than the Supreme God. And we take the opportunity of remarking here, that though we have, with reference to the usual acceptation of the term, generally rendered the word 帝 Té, Ruler, yet there can be little doubt, but that in this connection, and in all the instances which we have adduced above, the word should be rendered God ; in fact **Té**, as we shall be obliged to confess in the sequel, is the generic name for God, and Sháng té, by parity of reason, must mean the Supreme God.

On the 15th page of the same volume, we read,

" When the armies march, or kings go out to hunt, they should make use of a sacrificial animal at the altar of the lares and in the ancestorial temple, while they assign the places for the different objects of worship. They should also use a sacrifice corresponding (to the celestial one) and approach in worship towards the Supreme Ruler. They should likewise throw up altars of earth to the great Shìns (viz. the lares and the genii of the great mountains), while they sacrifice to the hills and rivers, where the army has to pass, in the same way."

On the 21st page of the same volume, we read,

" The keeper of the signets should then use a quadruple sceptre with one base, to do homage to Heaven, and to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler ; also a double sceptre with a single base, in order to pay homage to earth."

On the 54th page of the same section, we read further,

"On all occasions of great sacrifices (to the celestial Shîns), of religious services (in the ancestoral temple,) and of homage done (to the terrestrial K'hés), the worshipper should hold the clear fire and water (indicative of the sun and moon),

while he presents his prayers. When kings go out to war, sacrifices should be offered at the altar of the lares, and services performed in the ancestorial temple; an altar to the lares should also be set up in the midst of the camp, while a sacrifice corresponding (to the celestial one) should be presented to the Supreme Ruler."

The Taoú-tĭh-king has only one passage, in which the word 帝 (Supreme) Ruler is found, but it is of such importance, that we shall give the whole chapter in which it is contained, in order to assist our readers to a right understanding of it. The subject of the chapter is 道 Taoú, for which we are at a loss to discover any single term sufficient to express the meaning. We have been accustomed to render it the right way, the fitness of things, the principle of right, &c. but we are not certain whether it does not approach very nearly to the Logos of the Greeks, and the Reason of the moderns. In the beginning of the book, the writer says, "The Taóu (or road) that can be Taou-ed (travelled) is not the constant Taóu: the name that can be named is not the everlasting name." Upon which the commentator says, The Taóu has originally no name; it is called Taóu, and no more; if you say that it is like a road that may be travelled, then this is not the constant and unchangeable way. The next sentence is, "That which cannot be named is the beginning of heaven and earth; that which can be named is the parent of the myriad of things." Upon which the commentator says, That the nameless one is the Taóu, from whence heaven and earth spring; while the one that can be named is the energy of nature, from which all things are produced. These sentences will give us some slight idea of what the Taou-ists mean by Taóu; we will now proceed to set forth the chapter first referred to.

"Taóu is emptiness, and in applying it to use, men may perhaps be able to avoid extreme fulness; it is a great deep, and apparently the master of the myriad of things."

The commentator says, Taóu is emptiness, approaching even to non-existence; and yet if you take and apply it to the multitude of existences, it would without doubt pervade even the grandeur of heaven and earth, and the vastness of hills and rivers. Being immaterial, it seems as if it might avoid the extreme of fulness. A great deep conveys the idea of depth and subtility. The writer knew that Taóu was the superior of all things, and yet not daring to speak directly to the point, he said, it is apparently the superior of all things.

Another commentator says, Emptiness refers to the emptiness of a vessel. The word "perhaps" is a dubious expression, intimating that the writer did not dare to be certain about the matter. The substance of Taóu is emptiness; when men make use of it, therefore,

they should study inanity. and avoid fulness, because fulness is the opposite of Taóu. A great deep is that which cannot be fathomed. A master is the same as a superior to many subordinates. A superior is the leader or head of a class. Taou is the head of the myriad of things : hence the expression of the text. The word " apparently" also conveys the idea of indecision.

" We must break off the point, and unravel the intricacy; we must blend the brightness, and assimilate the dustiness; then we shall have the Taóu clear, and it would appear as if it might be preserved."

The commentator says, No man is destitute of Taóu, but only sages can carry it out to perfection. They break off the point, lest it should pass over to nothing; they unravel the intricacy, lest it should be dragged into connection with other things : not having a tendency to pass over to nothing, nor to be dragged into connection with other things, then external evils would be avoided, and the inward light would spring up. It is necessary still to go on and blend it, lest it should be altogether distinct from other things, and then the inward light would be pure. Dust is the most mixed of all things, but even dust should invariably assimilate with all other things, for fear lest it should be rejected from the number of things; after this it may be perfect, and its clearness may be constantly preserved. But although it is preserved, yet no one knows it, hence it is said, it would appear as if it might be preserved.

Another commentator says, To break, means, to break off. A point, means, an iron point at the end of a spear. Intricacy, means, knots and ravelings. Knots are untied with a horn, for which purpose the tip is used. Every point will after a time become blunt, and therefore it is better that we ourselves rub off the tip; in order to unravel knots, we do not want it very sharp-pointed; and then after all there would never come a time when it would appear to be blunted. To blend, is the same as to level, and conveys the idea of screening or covering the brightness; it means, to bring it to the same level, so that there should be no difference. When a mirror receives a little dust, it is not bright : all brightness will after a time become dim : therefore it is better ourselves to obscure the brightness, that it may be assimilated to the dustiness of yonder (mirror), and lest it should be extravagantly bright; then also after all there would come no time when it would appear dark. Now all sharp-pointed things will some time become blunt, and all bright things will some time become obscure, as the full will some time become overflowing. But the Taóu abhors extremes, therefore the sharp-pointed is rubbed, that it may not be over-sharp, and the bright is blended, that it may uot be over-dazzling. *The* sharpness and *the* brightnesss, these two " *Thes*" belong to one-self; *the* intricacies, and *the* dust, these two " *Thes*" belong to other things. Former explanations combined these two sentences into one, and assigned one explanation to them, which was wrong. The four sentences mean, that in the use of Taou, extremes must be avoided. Clearness conveys the idea of being settled and still. The essence of Taóu is vacuity, and that constitutes the secret of its preservation. It appears as if it were preserved; and really

there is not one thing preserved therein; this one sentence shews that the essence of Taou is vacuity.

The next sentence is,

"I do not know whose son it (viz. Taóu) is; it is prior to the (Supreme) Ruler of the visible (heavens.)

The commentator says, Although the Taóu may be constantly preserved, after all we do not know what name to give it, and yet we cannot say that it does not exist; hence the writer exclaims: Is not this [Taóu] prior to the Supreme Ruler? The Supreme Ruler is the beginning [of all things]; and yet (for Taóu) to be prior to the (Supreme) Ruler, would perhaps indicate that there was nothing that could take the precedence of it.

The other commentator says, "I do not know whose son it is?" is the question. "It is prior to the Supreme Ruler of the visible heavens," is the answer. A son is one born of father and mother. The Supreme Ruler of the visible, means Heaven. The "visible" means the heavens that we see. The Supreme "Ruler," means the Lord and Governor of heaven. The whole sentence means, "after all whose son is this Taóu? Heaven is prior to the myriad of things, and yet Taóu is prior to heaven, shewing that heaven proceeds from Taóu, and that nothing could exist prior to Taóu."

Without stopping to decide on the exact meaning to be assigned to the word Taóu, whether reason, the fitness of things, or the Divine Logos; and without entering into the question of assigning to Taóu a priority to Heaven or its Lord, we cannot help seeing that the word Ruler is here used for the Lord and Governor of Heaven, and that the Taouists understand that word, in the sense of the Supreme Being.

In the 三官妙經 San kwan meaóu king, a classic of the Taóu sect, the 三官 Three Powers, ruling over heaven, earth, and sea, are called 三官大帝慈悲主 the Triple Ruler, the Great God, and the merciful and gracious Lord. The title of the first is, "The upper chief, with his nine-fold energies, the Ruler of Heaven, who confers happiness, the gloriously spiritual 大帝 Great God, of essential brightness, and governor of the purple palace." The title of the second is, "The middle chief, with his seven-fold energies, the Ruler of earth, who forgives sins, the profoundly spiritual 大帝 Great God of pure vacuity, and governor of the green dragon palace." The title of the third is, "The lower chief, with his five-fold energies, the Ruler of the seas, who saves from calamity, the gold-like spiritual 大帝 Great God of profound darkness, the governor of the dark valley." In the above titles, we cannot fail to remark on the use to which the word 帝 Té is applied, and see no way of translating it, but by rendering it God.

In an ode which occurs in the same classic, we have the title 天地水官帝 the God who is the ruler of heaven, earth, and sea.

In an appendix to the same classic, the votary is told, that "if he will recite this work, every word and letter of which is true, and capable of procuring the forgiveness of sins and the conferring of happiness, then all the 上帝 Supreme Rulers of the various heavens, together with the sages of the ten regions, on hearing the recitation, will be greatly delighted."

We quote this merely to shew, that the word Supreme Ruler is capable of assuming the plural form, which some have affected to doubt; and to shew that according to the system of the Taouists, each one of the thirty-three heavens has its Supreme Ruler, who is supreme in his own celestial dominion.

In the 神仙通鑑 Shîn sëen t'hung këén, a mythological history of China, which appears to be a work got up by the sect of Taóu, we meet with the following expressions:

"The Supreme Ruler of the glorious Heavens, is the Lord and Governor of the three powers of nature, managing the very frame and axle of the universe."

"Chuen-heŭh said, You may sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, and pay court to the host of princes."

"Chuen-heŭh, being apprehensive lest there should be any mistake about the years and months in future, invented the astronomical calculations, and thus at the four quarters of the moon, previous to the time of full and change, people were able to go forth and welcome the coming period;" again, "at the solstices he erected an altar in the southern border, to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler." Again "he made six water-pots, in the centre of which he did homage to the Supreme Ruler." Further on we have an account of what has already been met with in the Book of Odes, "the empress Këang-yuen, with the emperor, presented a pure offering to the Supreme Ruler, (upon which the commentator remarks, that there was no object pointed at on this occasion, but it was merely intended to refer to the Lord and Governor of high heaven.) When the sacrifice was ended, she went out into the fields, where she saw a giant footstep, and eagerly trod in it, whereupon she felt a movement in her body as though she had conceived, and after the usual period brought forth a son. Këang-yuen thought it was infelicitous, and improperly placed the infant in a narrow road leading to the river, when the oxen and sheep all avoided treading on it; on the contrary, the animals cherished it, and removed it into the wood; after this some people going into the forest to cut timber, observed a she-wolf giving it suck; when they all shouted out and drove the wolf away. Këang-yuen then

sent some one to look at the child, and finding that it was still alive, she placed it on the ice, in the midst of a river, when the birds collected about it, some sheltering it with their feathers, and some bearing it on their wings. Këang-yuen then thought that there was something miraculous in the boy, and took it home to nourish it."

"Shún directed Yù to regulate the waters, and save the lives of the people, which work Yù did not dare to decline, and was just about to commence the undertaking, when some one announced that a priest of Taóu had come to pay him a visit; on being admitted, the priest said, I have heard that you wish to level the country and drain off the waters, that you may save and deliver the people; the Supreme Ruler has engaged me to come and assist you; I have a signet, which, as long as you carry it about with you, will enable you to pass over dangers without injury, also a needle, which will discover the depth of the water; likewise a charm, which will enable you to tranquillize the water. Yù was delighted and accepted of the gift."

Then follows a remarkable passage, in Vol III. Chap. 5. page 6.

"The Great 舜 Shún, observing that the seven powers, (viz. the sun, moon, and five planets) were all equally arranged, knew that a celestial decree ordering this must exist somewhere; therefore when he took charge of the affairs of the emperor Yaôu, he arranged all the matters relative to the government, and sacrificed to heaven and earth at the round hill; and after presenting offerings, announced (to Heaven,) the fact of his having taken charge of the government. On this occasion, looking up, he thought to himself, in this azure expanse of heaven, where the original energies of nature are thus bright and expansive, how is it possible that there can be no 主宰 Ruler to govern all? he therefore thought upon an exalted title for this power, and called him 昊天上帝 "the high Ruler of the glorious heavens," and 天主大帝 "the great God who is the Lord of heaven," as being titles most adapted for 上天 high Heaven; from which we may see that Shún's virtue united with heaven, and that he respectfully attended to the origin of things without being misled."

In the Buddhistic Classics, we cannot at present turn to any passages in which the words Sháng té are used, but in the 成道記 Ching taóu ké, a work belonging to that school, we have the word 帝 Té, frequently prefixed to 釋

Shih, and used in the sense of the God Shih-këa-mun-a, who is spoken of repeatedly as the 天主 Lord of Heaven: we have also in the same book the expression 天帝 used for the God of heaven.

We pass on now to more modern works, and taking up the 御製文集 Yù ché wăn tseĭh, or documents drawn up by and for the emperors of the present dynasty, sect 23, page 10, we find a reference to T'haé-wâng, and his successors of the Chow dynasty, who are said to be all "under the inspection of the Supreme Ruler, while they were placed over the inferior people." On the next page, the writer refers to the origin of the present Tartar family, saying that "the 帝女 divine lady, the 天妹 celestial virgin, swallowed a red bead, and brought forth a holy son, (the ancestor of the present imperial family,) to whom the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler gave the surname of 覺羅 Ghioro. (See a fuller account of this matter in Morrison's View of China, for philosophical purposes.)

On the 19th page, speaking of the good government of one of the ancestors of the present family, the writer says, that "bright sparklings of glory ascended up to high heaven, and the Supreme Ruler adopted him as his son, until, after a succession of years, Shún-chê, (complying with the wishes of the people, who had reverted to the great pure dynasty, and obeying the will of Heaven, who had rejected Ming,) ascended the throne. He ascertained that the 神器 regalia of the empire belonged to him, and that the decree of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, no longer favouring the former dynasty, had regarded with complacency the Tartar race."

In the 御製詩 Yù ché she, Odes composed by the imperial family, section 1st, 17th page, Yung-chíng describes the offering up of the celestial sacrifice at the southern border, at the period of the winter solstice, when he enumerates the glories of his house, from his first ancestors to the period of his own reign, thus expressing himself: "Let the burnt sacrifice ascend, let the pile burn brightly, spread out the sacrificial vessels, let them be pure and clean, whilst that I, the insignificant one, respectfully present my azure sceptre, and wait for the bright and intelligent 帝神 spirit of the (Supreme) Ruler, to approach and regard the offering."

In section VIII. page 19, of the same work, we meet with the following: "How distant appears the canopy of heaven, when the sacrifice is offered at the southern border: the worshippers stand in front with veneration and awe, while the Supreme Ruler vouchsafes his presence." "The ancient

ceremonies are our pattern, on this auspicious morn, whilst we strike up the musical stones, and the golden bells, and present the rich soups and generous wines; on each side are arranged the eight bands of sombre-clad attendants, and the brandishers of feathers with their variegated hues; having thus invited the Supreme Ruler to partake of the sacrifice, we also do honour to his attendant Shîns; look down therefore on our purity of motive, and bestow on us a fruitful year."

In another collection of Imperial Odes, section VII. page 19, we read, "At the celestial sacrifice, presented at the southern border, the offerings are arranged, when the vases and vessels, though in conformity with ancient models, are all made new; at the period of the winter solstice, and the second day of the moon, the six pipes are all in harmony, while the season is again verging towards spring; having induced him gloriously to approach, we presume to say, that we have gratified by our sacrifices the Supreme Ruler."

In section 52, page 27, we have an Ode entitled the Palace of Glorious Protection, which says, "Again we come to the region whence our kings arose, let us then talk of looking up to the palace of glorious protection; be respectful while you call upon the spirits at the golden gate way, be reverential as you gradually ascend the pearly steps, then reflect on the time when our fortunes were first founded, and looking up with veneration to the glorious canopy of heaven, remember that your holding the sceptre depends on the protection of 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler, and the establishment of your family on the throne is the result of his mysterious operation."

In all of the above instances, the terms Ruler and Supreme Ruler, are all elevated to the top of the page; and it is evident, from the tenor of the whole, that the Chinese of modern days intend by these expressions the Lord and Governor of all things.

We will now turn to the most modern book issued in China, where the publication of a new work is a rarity, and in the 15th Section of Commissioner Lin's Geography, we meet with a discussion relative to the religion of western nations, which is both curious and useful to our present object. in elucidating the ideas which the Chinese attach to the words Supreme Ruler and Heaven's Lord; we shall therefore draw largely upon it.

A person called Yâng-sëen-săng, of the Heĭh district, in Hwuy-chow, has undertaken to write a refutation of the errors of the European religion, in which he refers to a work published by Lê-tsoŏ-pĭh, saying, "That Heaven's Lord, the Supreme Ruler, opened out heaven and earth, and produced the first human pair, male and female, who dwelt in the country of Judea, while the surrounding countries were

all uninhabited. At that period men served one Lord, and honoured one religion, so that heretical and contending modes of faith had no existence. Afterwards men increased in numbers, and spread abroad on the face of the earth, until the eastern and western worlds were inhabited." Now the student of history, says our objector, on examining the accounts of those early times, and comparing dates, will find, that the period referred to accords with the age of Fŭh-he, or thereabouts, when, according to the above account, China first became inhabited. But this he says, would be to take China and derive it from Judea, or to Judaize it altogether. The writer above quoted goes on to say, that "in the times of Yaôu and Shún, and during the three dynasties of Hëá, Shang, and Chow, princes and ministers issued their orders from the court, while sages and wise men handed down instructions to posterity; every now and then alluding to Heaven, whom they called 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler, in order to warn and overawe one another. Thus the Historical Classic talks of 'luminously receiving the decree of the Supreme Ruler;' the Book of Odes, exclaims, 'Behold Wăn-wâng in the realms above, how gloriously does he shine in heaven! behold him ascending and descending in the presence of the Supreme Ruler.' The Lûn-yù also says, 'He who offends against Heaven, can have no one to entreat for him.' The Happy Medium declares, that 'the celestial and terrestrial sacrifices are those by which men serve the Supreme Ruler;' while Mencius talks of 'rejoicing in Heaven, fearing Heaven, and serving Heaven;' are not all these slender exhibitions of the *religion of Heaven?*" (the title given by the Romanists to the Christian religion.) To which our objector replies, According to this, then, that which you call Heaven's religion was prior to the religion of China. Alas! to what lengths do men of little minds go, who have no fear of shame! not thinking that the empire at present existing has been brought to its present pitch by the three emperors and five rulers of antiquity. But Mr. Tsoŏ-pĭh would make out that the sage princes and wise ministers of successive generations are the descendants of his heretical teachers; and that the Six Classics and Four Books are but the slender exhibitions of his so-called celestial religion. In what way then would he distinguish the princes and ministers of our present Great Pure Dynasty from the descendants of his heretical religionists?"

After various discussions, the writer goes on to detail the views of Europeans regarding religion, as follows:—"Heaven could not constitute itself heaven, no more than the myriad of things could form themselves as they now exist: there must

have been one to create all these things, and afterwards they could be called into existence. Heaven's Lord is the origin of all existences : his being is causeless, while he is the cause of all being. He is far exalted above form or sound, and does not enter into the ranks of the visible and audible. It was He who out of nothing created all things : without requiring the aid of materials or instruments, or the lapse of time. He first made innumerable angels and disembodied spirits ; after which he formed man. But before he made man, he made heaven and earth, and the various kinds of things, to overspread and uphold, and support and nourish human beings : thus he first formed heaven and earth, and birds and beasts, and fishes and reptiles, and plants and trees, after which he made man, one male and one female, named Adam and Eve, to be the parents of all living. Thus heaven had a beginning, but heaven's Lord had no beginning : that which had a beginning is produced from that which had no beginning ; on which account, the former of all things is called Heaven's Lord." After this the writer asks, " But who was Jesus ?" To which he furnishes the answer : Heaven's Lord. Again he asks, " But Heaven's Lord must be employed in ruling and governing heaven and earth and the myriad of things, how came he to be born into the world ?" To which the answer is given, That Heaven's Lord pitied the race of Adam, who had fallen into sin, and entailed misery on successive generations, and therefore himself became incarnate to save mankind. Again the question is asked, " When was Jesus born into the world ?" to which the answer is supplied, In the second year of Gae-té, of the Hán dynasty. Whereupon the Chinese objector bursts out in the following strain. " Alas ! to what an extent do lies and fabrication proceed ? Now we know that heaven is concreted and arranged by the two energies of nature, and is not created by any one. But supposing that heaven had a Lord, then all included in its overspreadings and supportings, throughout the myriad of states, and within the four seas, would invariably be under the government of Heaven's Lord, and there would be no such thing as his confining himself to the government of one little Judea. If he only ruled over the one country of Judea, how could he be called Heaven's Lord ? Since he is entitled Heaven's Lord, then heaven above and earth beneath, and the myriad of states within the four seas, amongst the multitude of things, all would depend upon the regulations of Heaven's Lord. Now when Heaven's Lord came down into the world for 33 years, who managed the affairs of the universe for him ? and if heaven and earth had for the time no one to ruler and govern the universe, then heaven would not have revolved, nor earth have

nourished life, nor human beings been able to maintain their existence, nor would plants have grown, while the myriad of things would have been almost exterminated. When Heaven's Lord did come down into the world, he ought to have transformed those whom he casually met with, and have brought to the state of mysterious intelligence all with whom he constantly resided: he ought to have been an example of benevolence, and discoursed on forbearance, until he had brought the whole world to a state of glorious splendour: but he seems to have been ignorant of such great schemes, and to have preferred the displays of little favours, such as the healing of people's sicknesses, and the raising of their dead to life, the walking on the water, and conjurations about eating; while he made it his business to save men from hell and get them to heaven. How then could he accomplish the happiness of a whole world, by abolishing vice and drawing over to virtue, in order to bring men back to the original state in which they were formed? These people say, that Buddha is gone down into hell, never to come out again; but who has seen this? Moreover Jesus himself, when on earth, was nailed to the cross, which was a being exposed to the tree of knives, and the sea of misery, in his own person; how could he be the Lord and Governor of heaven, earth, and all things, when he could not be the Lord over his own person and save his own life? If he were the Supreme Ruler who created the world, how could people have cut and hacked him as they chose? These people rob and plunder the Buddhists of their superabundant froth and spume about heaven's hall and earth's prison, (heaven and hell) and yet they go and revile Buddha. Even the doctors of the Taóu sect never plundered Buddha, and yet railed on him, to such an extent as this. Moreover they draw expressions from the sect of the learned, and yet they abuse the learned. Thus they are continually quoting what the Six Classics say about the Supreme Ruler, and insist upon his being the Lord of heaven, saying, The azure heavens are the servants of the Supreme Ruler. The heavens above lie partly to the east and partly to the west, being without head and body, without arms and legs, thus they are not worthy to be honoured. Moreover the earth beneath, is what all our feet tread upon, and the place to which all defilements flow down, how can that be worthy of regard? To which we should say, continues the Chinese writer, that not to honour heaven and earth, and only to honour the Supreme Ruler, is reasonable, but to adore Jesus as the Supreme Ruler is unreasonable. For supposing Jesus to have been truly and perfectly a sage of celestial virtue, he would certainly with one word have become an example for future ages, and

with one act have diffused his favours over all within the four seas. In the same manner as Fúh-he and Wăn-wâng, illustrated the forms of the diagrams ; or as Yaôu and Shún carried out to the utmost good government : or as the Great Yù drained off the waters ; or as Chow-kung settled ceremonies and music ; or as Confucius illustrated reason and virtue : all which were meritorious deeds that will live for myriads of ages. Now did Jesus perform any one of all these ? If he considered it such an act of merit to heal people's diseases, and to raise men from the dead, these were only matters such as the great physician Hwa-to, or such as priests and conjurers could perform, and not the business of a great sage; still less the business of the lord and ruler of heaven, earth, and all things. If he looked upon this as a merit, how is it that he did not exempt people altogether from sickness and death, which would have been a much greater act of merit. Even supposing that the spirit of the Supreme Ruler extensively pervaded each individual, and healed every sick person, and raised every dead person met with, still those who met with Jesus would be but few, and those who did not meet with him would be innumerable, where then would be the merit of saving the world ?"

Commissioner Lin adds a note of his own, at the end of this article, to the effect that, as far as he had read the Gospel, Jesus calls himself the Son of the Supreme Ruler, while he calls the Supreme Ruler his Father ; but he says that he has not met with one place in which Jesus is directly called God.

A man of the name of 魏源 Weí-yuên, of the district of 邵陽 Shaóu-yâng, in the prefecture of 保慶 Paòu-k'hing, in the province of 湖南 Hoô-nân, the compiler of the whole work, in conjunction with Commissioner Lin, then gives us a long dissertation on the Christian Religion, in which he enumerates the books of the New Testament, and then details generally the lineage of Jesus with the period of his birth ; after which he says, that his mother Mary miraculously conceived, when she was informed by a vision, that her offspring would be the Son of the Supreme Ruler, who was coming down into the world, to effect a reformation of mankind on behalf of Heaven. When this child was grown up, the writer says, he performed various miracles, which he briefly describes, after which, he says, that he was crucified, and died, but rose again on the third day, and ascended to Heaven, where he sat down at the right hand of the Supreme Ruler. The object of his incarnation and sufferings, the writer tells us, was to redeem mankind from sin, and bring them to happiness and heaven. He then quotes part

of the first chapter of John. and gives a summary of what he has gathered as the substance of the Christian Religion, commencing with the statement, that all the nations of Europe acknowledge and honour only one Supreme Ruler, besides whom they do not offer prayers to any. " Now the Supreme Ruler existed previously to heaven and earth, and there is no possibility of ascertaining from whence he came, but it appears that he is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, infinitely just, supremely great, all-wise, and all-true, on whom every man should rely ; for among winds and thunder, clouds and rain, sun and moon, stars and planets, plants and trees, flowers and grass, birds and beasts, fishes and insects, with whatever heaven over-shadows and earth sustains, there is not one single thing that has not been created by the Supreme Ruler ; hence he is called the Father of Heaven, the Saviour of the world, and the Holy Spirit, while in reality he is only one Supreme Ruler. Among the truths most important for men to know are, First, every man born into the world, has received all he possesses from Heaven ; having therefore received every gift from Heaven, then our bodies and minds are all sprung from the Supreme Ruler, and the Supreme Ruler is our universal Parent. Should not children, then, love and honour their parents? Secondly, Every man is possessed of a soul that will never die ; the souls of those who believe in the Supreme Ruler and practice virtue, will after death enjoy everlasting happiness ; while those who offend against the Supreme Ruler, and do wickedness, will suffer eternal misery. Thirdly, The Supreme Ruler has neither form nor sound, and lest people should be ignorant of him, he has given us a book, which began to be indited about the close of the Hëá dynasty, and was completed in 2000 years. It is partly written in Hebrew, the language of Asia, and partly in Greek, the language of Europe."

Then follow copious extracts from a work published by the Protestant Missionaries on Theology ; succeeded by a brief exposition of the Ten Commandments ; and a tolerably correct view of the gospel plan of salvation, without any condemnatory remarks, or attempted refutations.

In the next chapter, the writer gives a list of the different works published by the Roman Catholics, on their first entrance into China ; in commenting upon which he says, that these religionists were well aware, that it would not do to attack the views entertained by the learned, and therefore borrowed from the Six Classics the phrase Supreme Ruler, which they applied to the Lord of Heaven ; while they contented themselves with attacking the Buddhists.

Extract from the 職方外紀, Chih-fang-wáé-kè, a work

of European origin, quoted by Commissioner Lin, in his Geography.

"In heaven and earth the most honourable and most dignified, the true Lord and great Father of men and things, is only one, namely 天主上帝 Heaven's Lord the Supreme Ruler, besides whom there is no other. He is all-wise, almighty, and infinitely good; throughout vast and unlimited space, the hosts of 神人物 spirits, men and things, were all created by Heaven's Lord, and all depend upon his protection and support. It is He that presides over the enlarging or limiting of the happiness and misery of men, therefore we ought to reverence and love none other than this Heaven's Lord. Besides him, whether they be 神 spirits or 人 men, should they instruct people sincerely to serve Heaven's Lord, they would be good men, and happy spirits; but should they induce people to seek for happiness and avoid misery, in any other way, they then usurp the prerogative of heaven, and rob him of his authority, thus constituting themselves without doubt wicked spirits and bad men; to believe and worship such, would be none otherwise than evil.

We have made the preceding extracts, not so much with the view of shewing what the Chinese think of Christianity, as of eliciting the notions entertained by the present generation of the Supreme Ruler, and what they think of our practice in adopting the term. It will be seen, by a review of what has been adduced, that the modern Chinese, like the ancient, entertain the highest veneration for Him whom they thus designate the Supreme Ruler; that they consider him to be the Supreme Disposer of all events, and by no means think of confounding him with any idols, or of associating him in their ideas with the various fabulous deities who have had the epithet Supreme Ruler added to their names. The Taouists, we know have invented various prefixes to the name in question, and have erected temples to the honour of 玉清上帝 the perfectly pure Supreme Ruler, 金闕上帝 the Supreme Ruler of the Golden Gateway, 玉辰上帝 the Supreme Ruler of the Pearly Star; 玉皇上帝 the Supreme Ruler and Perfect Monarch, 玄天上帝 the Supreme Ruler of the Sombre Heavens; but it is evident, that all these additions to the title, are substractions from the dignity of the individual intended, inasmuch as they limit or circumscribe the rule of him, who, when spoken of simply and alone, is above all rule, authority, and power. In fact with the exception of one instance, in which the title Supreme Ruler, is applied to the autocrat of the celestial empire,

we have not met with a case, throughout the classical writings, in which the title Supreme Ruler, without any additions, is not applied to the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, who possesses all power, is entitled to the highest homage and veneration, is the origin of heaven, earth, and all things, and decides on the fates of princes and people according to his will.

We will now turn to the Imperial Dictionary, in order to ascertain the meaning of the term 上帝 Sháng té, which we have hitherto rendered the Supreme Ruler. Under the word 上 Sháng, Kang-he gives the first meaning as *above, upon, to honour, to esteem highly*; and quotes a passage from the Book of Diagrams, to the effect, that those objects which are seen in heaven, as the heavenly bodies, &c. are near to the *upper* regions. Under the second class of meanings, he says, that "Shang means 君 Keun, a *sovereign*; and is the appellation of the 太上 *most high*, and 極尊 *most honourable*;" thus intimating that the word Sháng is capable of being applied to one most highly elevated, whether on earth or in heaven; the expression *sovereign* referring to the former, and the phrase *most-high*, to the latter. The *ipse dixit* of one Tsáé-yûng is then quoted, which says, that "the Upper One, is he who possesses a station of honour and dignity, and the term is used merely with reference to his supremacy, without presuming to mention his esteemed appellation." In the third place, Kang-he gives the meaning to Sháng, as *first* in order, with reference to days, as 上日 the first day; quoting a phrase from the Shoo-king, 正月上日 the first day of the first month; which K'hùng-shé explains as meaning, the first day of the moon; while Yĕ-shé says, that it refers to the days of the first decade, as the first 戊 mow day, the first 辛 sin day, and the first 丁 ting day, &c. (There being three of such classes of days in each month, these refer to the first that occur.) Fourthly, Sháng is said to be used as a surname. Fifthly, Read in the upper tone, it means to ascend, to mount, to go from a lower place to a higher one. Sixthly, in the same tone, it means to send up, or send in, as documents are sent in to the emperor. Seventhly, it is said to be synonymous with 尙 Sháng, to emulate, to prefer. In poetry, it frequently changes its sound, but retains its meaning. Sháng also means high. From the above we perceive, that Sháng, when applied to a ruler, means the most high and most honourable; from which we are warranted in translating it Supreme, when ap-

plied to Heaven's Potentate. In fact, Sháng, as an adjective, generally conveys the idea of priority and excellence, above all others; for instance, 上古 Sháng koò, means the highest antiquity; 上白 Sháng pĭh, the very whitest; 上好 Sháng haòu, the very best; 上士 Sháng szé, a superior scholar; 上憲 Sháng hëén, and 上官 Sháng kwan, the highest officers in a district or city; 上將 Sháng tsëáng, and 上軍 Sháng keun, the highest generals in the army; 上品 Sháng p'hìn, the best sort; 上等 Sháng tăng, the highest class; 上元 Sháng yuên, and 上本 Sháng pùn, the the highest origin; 上流 Sháng lêw, the highest part of a river; 上治 Sháng ché, the best kind of good government; 上人 Sháng jîn, the best kind of men; 上號 Sháng haóu, a superior sort of anything; thus also 上天 Sháng t'hëen, means the highest heavens, and 上帝 Sháng té, the Supreme Ruler. See page 216, where 上 Sháng alone is used for Supreme. In connection with this subject, see also John xix. ii.

We now refer to the word 帝 Té, as given by the Imperial Dictionary, where K'hang-he, in explanation of the term in question, adduces another word similar in sound, and also in sense, to represent its meaning; this word is 諦 Té, which signifies to judge, to examine, to inspect, to discriminate, to separate between right and wrong. The primary acceptation of the word 帝 Té, therefore, is a judg e, and the lexicographer tells us, that it is a designation given to one who rules over the empire. He says also that it means 君 keun, a sovereign; and quotes a work called 白虎通 Pĭh-hoó-t'hung, which says, "When any one's virtue corresponds to that of Heaven, he is called 帝 té, a Potentate." A passage is then adduced from the Shoo-king, which agrees in sense with the opening sentence of that work; "In former times 帝堯 the emperor Yaôu was intelligent and accomplished, while his glory covered the whole empire;" to which an explanation is attached, implying that the word 帝 Té, or ruler, is one of the names applied to Heaven; adding that, the reason why the word Té is applied to human rulers, is because they are the judges of mankind. Meaning that, like Heaven, they are dignified, and effect their purpose without the necessity of mental effort; while they are entirely divested of selfishness, and extend their just rule to the utmost dis-

tance, examining and discriminating every matter accurately, hence they are called 帝 judges or rulers. The 五 帝 five rulers of antiquity, in this respect, were one in principle, and were able to judge and discriminate matters, hence they took this title. Another work is quoted, called "Leú-shé's Illustrations of the Spring and Autumn Record," which says, "that 帝 Té, a ruler, is one with whom the whole empire agrees, while 王 wâng, a king, is one to whom the whole empire applies (for redress.) Kwàn-shé distinguishes these two appellations thus: "He who discriminates the right way is a judge or ruler; while the man who understands virtue may be denominated a king or sovereign." A quotation is then adduced from history, stating that Hán-kaou-tsoò (B. C. 202), "ascended the throne of the 皇 帝 hwâng té, emperor, at the south side of the river Szè." Upon which Tsaé-yûng remarks, "that in the earliest antiquity, emperors were entitled 皇 hwâng, great ones; but subsequently they were styled 帝 té, rulers." Having gone through this first class of meanings, we find that the prevailing idea attached to the word Té, is that of judge and ruler, while the commentators tell us, that the term was originally applied to Heaven, as the Ruler and Judge of mankind, but was accommodated to human rulers, when they at all resembled the Divine Potentate, in the majesty and disinterestedness with which they carried out their rule. We conceive, therefore, that we are warranted in rendering it in our language by the word God, the universal Ruler and Judge of all. In the second class of meanings, K'hang-he gives the sense of 帝 Té, when employed by the writers of epitaphs; in which case he says, those whose virtue resembled that of heaven and earth were called Té, gods. In the third class of meanings, the lexicographer gives us the phrase 上 帝 Sháng-té, which he says is synonymous with Heaven. In this he means of course the ruling power of heaven, and not the visible heavens. The Chinese have been accustomed (like most other nations) to speak of the Supreme under this emblem; but finding that it was difficult to attribute qualities and acts, mind and will, to Heaven, they adopted the expression 上 帝 Supreme Ruler, which we must take to mean the personification of the ruling power and supreme authority residing in heaven, and disposing of the affairs of men. The most just and natural rendering of the term Sháng-té, is therefore the Supreme God. Under this head, the lexicographer quotes two passages from the classics, which having already been considered, there is no necessity to refer to them again. Among the fourth class of

meanings, under the word 帝 té, K'hang-he gives 五帝 woò té, the five gods, which he says, are the names of invisible beings; or, as some would render it, of gods. He then quotes the 周禮 Ceremonies of Chow, which speak of sacrificing to the 五帝 five gods at the four borders of the land. These five gods, the commentator tells us, are the following; the 蒼帝 azure god, whose name is 靈威仰 Líng-weí-gang; 赤帝 the red god, whose name is 赤熛怒 Tseih-p'heaou-noó; the 黃帝 yellow god, whose name is 含樞紐 Sháy-keu-new; the 白帝 white god, whose name is 白招拒 pĭh-chaou-keu; and the 黑帝 black god, whose name is 叶光紀 Heĭh-kwang-kè. A quotation then follows from the 家語 Family Sayings of Confucius, where K'he-kang-tszè asked the name of the 五帝 five gods? to which Confucius replied, "In heaven there are five elements, such as metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, which are distributed over the various seasons, to promote transformation and nourishment, in order to complete the myriad of things; the 神 invisible beings presiding over which are called 五帝 the five gods." (See page 73.) From the above we perceive, that the word 帝 Té is capable of being applied to subordinate deities, or invisible beings who have charge over the five elements, represent the five colours, and are sacrificed to at the five seasons; hence we infer that the word in question not only signifies the Supreme God, particularly when the epithet Sháng (Supreme) is prefixed, but that it is a generic name for God; and is applicable to both high and low deities, according to the epithet annexed, or the connection in which it is found. That it is also applied to human rulers, is no argument against its employment to designate celestial deities, because the lexicographer tells us, that the word originally applied to the ruler of heaven, and was only accommodated to designate the potentates of earth, when they were supposed to resemble the Supreme Ruler. In the same way the word *Theos* and *Deus*, in Greek and Latin, were sometimes applied to human rulers, though in their primary signification those terms were intended to convey a higher sense. Thus Strabo talks of *Ho Theos Kaisar*, the God Cæsar.* Under the fifth class

* In the view above given of the meaning of Té, we see how exactly it corresponds with the word *Elohim*, occurring in the Hebrew Scriptures, as referring occasionally to kings and judges, to gods and deities in general, as well as to the one Supreme Potentate, who rules over all.

of meanings, Kang-he says, that 帝 té is the name of a star; quoting in proof a historical work, which says, "The star of the central mansion and the extreme pole of the heavens is where 太乙 Alpha in Draco,* the singularly bright one, constantly resides." Upon which a commentator remarks, that Wăn-yaou-keu says, The essence of 大帝 Alraccaba, of the central mansion, is the present polar star; while another writer testifies, that the position of 大帝 Alraccaba, of the polar regions, was once the same with 太乙 Alpha in Draco; which a commentator would explain to mean, that 太乙 Alpha in Draco is only another name for Alraccaba, in Ursa Minor; in which, however, he is mistaken. Again, K'hang-he says, that 大角 Arcturus, in Bootes, is the divine palace of the king of heaven; upon which the commentator remarks, that according to Sŏ-yin, who quotes the Yuen-shîn-k'he, Arcturus is the place where he sits to give audience; while Sung-keun says, that the seat referred to is the divine throne. Further, the lexicographer adduces a passage to say, that in the hall of the three bright ones, about the constellation Hercules, there are five stars, which are called 五帝座 the throne of the five Tés, or Ras algethi, and the stars in the neighbourhood. Thus, in this acceptation, the word Té is merely to be understood as the name of a star; while, in treating of the same, expressions are employed, which intimate that the original meaning of Té is retained, even when its use is thus varied. Under the sixth head, K'hang-he tells us, that 帝 Té is sometimes used for the name of a place.

The following article was written on the subject of the Supreme Ruler by a Chinese, named 吳天心 Woo t'hëen sin, who has received Christian instruction.

"Among the most honourable, there is none to be compared with the Supreme Ruler, and amidst those possessed of authority, there is none equal to the Highest Potentate. The Supreme Ruler's dignity should be universally venerated, and his righteous dealing everywhere known. Now in the world, there are many who bear the name of 帝 gods, (a number of whom he enumerates,) but these are all different from the Supreme Ruler. With reference to the visible expanse, men use the word 天 Heaven; with respect to what is carried on around us, they employ the term 真神

* In the year of the world 1704, alpha in Draco was the polar star.

the trueGod or spirit;* and alluding to the universal Potentate, they designate him the 上帝 Supreme Ruler. The Supreme Ruler is incorporeal and immaterial; before heaven, earth, and all things came into being, the Supreme Ruler existed; the great Lord and Gover nor, who created and governs heaven, earth, and all things, is called 上帝 Sháng té, the Supreme Potentate. But why is he called 帝 Té? Some say, that the meaning of 帝 Té, is one who governs; and because he presides over all under heaven, therefore he is called the Governor of the world. Others say, that the idea to be attached to 帝 Té, is one who judges. and he is called the Supreme Judge, because he justly, and universally, judges all things, hence he is called the Judge. The meaning of 帝 Té is thus two-fold, but the primary acceptation being that of the Lord and Governor of all things, he is therefore called the Potentate. But why is the word Supreme prefixed to that of Ruler? We should answer, that corrupt devils have no 靈 efficaciousness, while the Supreme Ruler is alone efficacious, (in granting answers to prayer,) and the word Supreme is attached, to shew His efficaciousness. All the Shîns (or genii) are ignoble, but the Supreme Ruler is alone honourable; the word Supreme is therefore added, to indicate his dignity. Invisible beings in general are without authority, and the Supreme Ruler is possessed of unlimited authority; therefore the word Supreme is put first, to indicate that he is the head of all authority and power. In such a being love should exist, sufficient to benefit mankind, and the love of the Supreme Ruler is extensive and abundant; in Him virtue should be apparent, calculated to illumine the world with its glory, and the virtue of the Supreme Ruler is exalted and resplendent: in Him there should be wisdom, adequate to instruct all generations, and the wisdom of the Supreme Ruler is distant and long-continued; in Him there should be power, sufficient to restrain the wills of men, and the power of the Supreme Ruler is undivided and unique. To his glory, nothing can be superadded, and in his throne he has no competitor; hence he is said to be high and exalted above all, while he looks down to contemplate the surrounding world; and when we wish to

* The phrase 眞神 Chin shîn, true God, is not a Chinese collocation, but having been used by the Missionaries, with whom the writer of the above essay had been much associated, he employs it out of deference to them; and attaches to it, doubtless, the meaning above given.

acknowledge his greatness, and find that the Glorious Heavens are unequal to the comparison, we then use the word Supreme, to designate him. Thus viewing it, and having in this way illustrated the meaning of the words, we find that the appellation of the Supreme Ruler most truly attaches to Him, and the throne of the Highest Potentate most assuredly belongs to Him; while what the men of this world call Shins, are only sprites and elves, and ghosts, and hobgoblins, which cannot afford protection and happiness to men, nor be for a moment compared to, or put upon an equal footing with the Supreme Ruler? In the creation of heaven and earth, the sun and moon, hills and vallies, rivers and seas, we certainly perceive the wonderful power of the Supreme Ruler; in the agitating and moving of the winds and clouds, the rain and dew, the frost and snow, the thunder and lightning, we also see the subtile and genial influences of the Supreme Ruler; at his impulse the first origin of the superior principle of nature sprang into existence, and the original constitution of the inferior principle came into being; the first uniting and transforming of heaven above, and earth beneath, with the myriad of things scattered about, and flowing on without intermission, was doubtless in consequence of the regulation and control of the Supreme Ruler, and subject to the presiding government of the Highest Potentate. Thus in the Six Classics there are many references to the Supreme Ruler; such as, "The sacrifice corresponding to the celestial one was offered to the Supreme Ruler;" again, "Present a pure offering to the Supreme Ruler;" both which sentences intimate the extreme of respect with which the ancients honoured the Highest Potentate. Again, "Luminously serve the Supreme Ruler," and "respectfully receive (the decree) from the Supreme Ruler," which refer to the high veneration in which they held the Majesty of the Universe. Further, "How glorious is the Supreme Ruler!" and "how intelligent is the universal Potentate!" referring to his omniscience. Do not say, no one hears me; for the Classic avers that "the Supreme Ruler comes near to you;" do not say, no one sees me; for the Classic again says, "the Supreme Ruler is on our right hand," which phrases refer to his omnipresence. The Classics also say, "that the sages exert their influence, to sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler," and "at the winter solstice pay their vows to Heaven at the round hillock;" all which means, that the ancient worthies honoured and worshipped the Supreme Ruler. Moreover he who vastly illumines the glorious heavens, without error or mistake, is the Supreme Ruler; he who shakes by his wrath the august heavens, killing and making alive whom he will,

is the Supreme Ruler. Besides which, the conferring happiness on the good and misery on the bad, depends on the inspection and examination of the Supreme Ruler; the applauding of virtue and the punishing of vice, rests with the majesty and authority of the Supreme Ruler; therefore when any one's mental qualities are excellent and clear, the Supreme Ruler draws forth his mind and removes impediments out of his way; so also when any one's views are purposely confused and disturbed, the Supreme Ruler takes away his privileges, and deprives him of the light he had; the sending down of this encouragement upon those who need nourishment in virtue, and the inflicting of this great calamity on those who will not follow the right path, are severally the ways in which the Supreme Ruler warns and alarms the men of little minds. Ought not the people of the world, therefore, to honour and worship the Supreme Ruler, and comply with the heaven-appointed way? Thus it is, that the good man, in holding intercourse with mankind, should constantly guard against idle wandering and empty pleasure; while the way in which he venerates the Supreme Ruler is, by the employment of correct conduct and rigid respect, looking up to Him for protection and aid, without a single thought of insincerity; so also in communion with the invisible world, he should perpetually avoid indolence and neglect, while the way in which he honours the High Potentate is by the display of reverential regard and awe, keeping his thoughts perpetually upon Him, without a single moment's indifference. This is the way in which the good man exhibits respect and caution, in waiting for Heaven's blessing, and submitting to the inspection of the Supreme Mind; but those men of the world do not understand the righteousness of the Supreme Ruler, and not venerating the High Potentate, how can they minutely enquire into his righteous dealings?"

We add another paper from 鄭日爲 Ching jih ping, on the difference between the Supreme Ruler and the Shins. "The Supreme Ruler, is the Great Lord and Governor of heaven and earth, a distinction to which the Shins cannot pretend. The Supreme Ruler existed before heaven and earth; he is omniscient and omnipotent; while the myriad of things are the result of his miraculous energy. The Shins existed subsequently to heaven and earth, and can of themselves know nothing and do nothing, of whom wooden images are the fit representatives. Thus we see a manifest difference, and it is hard to be deceived in mistaking one for the other. The Classics, in speaking of the Supreme Ruler, say, that "he is gloriously displayed above;" but when they

treat of the Kwei Shins, they are vague in their expressions, and wanting in proof. Before the Gospel was handed down, men's minds were much in the dark, so that they were deluded into the belief of corrupt Shîns, and deceived by the devil; until they served carved and molten images, without knowing what they were about. Those who sought for happiness, early and late consulted the divinations; while those who were fond of seduction, knocked head at the new and full moon. Those who went to extremes presented incense and worshipped Buddha, continually borrowing assistance from the nuns; they also observed fasts and abstinences, giving themselves over to the direction of the priests; thinking that their merit was still incomplete, men sought to be changed into demons and elves; and eagerly enquiring after the way of pardon, every one of them inclined to become genii and fairies. Worse than this; the more extravagant and voluptuous, on a pretext of burning incense, merely went to look at the crowds, while the abandoned and licentious priests got up meetings with the view of entrapping young females; supposing their Shîns to have the least knowledge, they could not endure such things, and thus it is that the beautifully adorned temples have been converted into mere willow groves; and the supposed virtues or vices of devotees, have failed of meeting with the expected rewards and punishments. From this we may know, that betwixt heaven and earth, there is only one Supreme Ruler. and besides Him all are corrupt Shîns. For the Supreme Ruler possesses power to renumerate without fail, while those depraved Shîns, with their little arts, have no ability to bring down blessings or curses; if we obey the will of the Supreme Ruler, in order to cultivate virtue, we may attain to the highest heaven and enjoy endless bliss; but if we believe the delusions of vicious Shîns, and act accordingly, we shall find it difficult to escape the lowest hell, where we shall suffer torment without end. I have heard, that in the 2d year of He, the duke of Loŏ, the 社 *lares rustici* of the city of Pŏ, were involved in calamity: now what are the *lares* but Shîns? and if it was a difficult matter to exempt the lares of Pŏ from trouble, how could these again protect the black-haired people, and deliver them from woe? The good man, on reading this, may know that the Shîns have no knowledge, and are destitute of power; from which we may infer the duty of worshipping the Supreme Ruler alone. I will therefore add a line of poetry; When the Supreme Ruler vouchsafes his presence, do not blind yourself to his glories; when depraved Shîns delude you, do not fall into their mal practices; if for one day you do

wickedness, a hundred punishments will be inflicted on you; stern and severe, heaven's mirror is here. Again I would offer a couplet, Virtue is followed by blessings, and vice by curses; Heaven's ways are thus illustrated, without the slightest mistake; therefore worship the Supreme Ruler, and act according to the proper rites, when he will protect and confer on you endless happiness."

In reviewing what has been adduced from Chinese authors, on the subject of the Supreme Ruler, or God, we find that the ideas elicited may be distributed under the following heads:

1. His existence is argued (p. 185) from the expression of the Book of Odes, "that the spirit of Wăn-wâng was long after his death, ascending and descending in the presence of the Supreme, which could not have been true, unless the Supreme Ruler were himself in existence, and maintained his throne in heaven."

2. His incorporeality is alluded to (p. 247), where the commentator on the Chow-lè says, that when the Emperor offered a pure sacrifice to the Supreme, no object was pointed at on the occasion, but it was merely intended to refer to the Lord and Governor of the high Heavens.

3. The mind of the Supreme is distinctly recognized (p. 209) as inspecting the virtues and vices of mankind.

4. He is spoken of as a 神 spiritual and intelligent being, (p. 156), that cannot be deceived (p. 157); his 神 spirit is supposed to be extensively pervading (p. 254); while the Supreme Ruler is twice spoken of (page 231) as 天之神 the spiritual part of heaven: and (on p. 222) the spirit of the Supreme Ruler is said to smell the sweet savour of the sacrifices offered to him.

5. His glory and majesty are referred to (p. 219, twice) where he is said to shine gloriously; while (p. 242) the splendour and purity, the elevation and expansion of his energies, are spoken of as peculiarly indicated, when the word Supreme Ruler is used. The phrase, that High Imperial One, (p. 45) most honourable and without compare, will be fresh in the recollection of our readers; while the ascription of praise to that Majestic One (page 219) the Supreme Ruler. highly exalted and dwelling on high (p. 219), may remind us of the inspired language of Isaiah, lvii. 15. regarding "the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity, and dwelleth in the high and holy place."

6. The supremacy of the celestial Potentate is distinctly recognized (p. 219), where is he called the Lord and Ruler of Heaven, and (p. 247) the Lord and Governor of the three powers of nature, managing the frame-work and axle-tree

of the universe; he also (p. 223) is the Governor among the nations, far elevated above kings (p. 233), who are all subject to his sway, yea emperors (p. 249) are under his inspection.

7. The decrees of the Supreme, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, are very frequently referred to; it is he that decrees (p. 221) the empire to whom he will: upon him depends the rise and fall of dynasties (pages 207, 211, 212, 217, 218, 225); good rulers are said (p. 208, 251) intelligently to receive his decree, amongst whom Wăn-wâng and Woò-wâng (p. 216) are specified, who respectfully (p. 211) accepted of the appointment. His decree is spoken of (p. 212) as capable of being traced and understood, and when once ascertained, the ancient worthies (p. 211, 212) did not dare to set it aside; for the Supreme Ruler was such an object of dread (p. 208), that they never ventured to contravene his commands. The tendency of the divine decree was sometimes (p. 212) indicated by prognostications; nevertheless it was said (p. 209, 210) not to be invariable in favour of one family, but mainly depended on the conduct of individual rulers; the decree, therefore, appointing any particular race to the throne (p. 214) was not to be too confidently relied on, because the Supreme Ruler sometimes (p. 213) changed his decree, and appoined another sovereign in the stead of an oppressive tyrant; while he was occasionally (p. 204) angry with monarchs, and deprived them of their thrones. It being understood, therefore, that the Supreme Ruler (p. 219, 220) patronized certain families as rulers, and favoured certain monarchs (p. 204) by giving them the throne; the decree of the Highest Potentate was supposed (p. 249) to be in favour of the present Tartar dynasty, and the Supreme Ruler is imagined (p. 249) to have adopted Shún-chè, the founder of the Manchow race of rulers, as his son. The glorious will of the Supreme Ruler (p. 215, 216) is said to be promoted by a virtuous prince, by which means he may shew the people, in a most evident manner, that he is chosen by the Supreme to rule over the empire.

8. The goodness of the Supreme Ruler is evidenced by his conferring (p. 208, 209, 223) the just Medium, or a virtuous nature, on mankind; while he is said to give (p. 226) a plentiful harvest, to confer prosperity (p. 210) on empires, and to aid and assist the patriotic (p. 219) in their efforts.

9. The work of creation is his, not as a subordinate, but as the principal, for he is said (p. 209) to have transformed and produced the myriad of things. See under article 28.

10. Providence is alike ascribed to him, for he is described (p. 219, 220) as looking down on this lower world; while the rewarding of goodness and the blaming of faults, rests (p. 209)

in every case with the inspection of the Supreme ; he observes and rewards (p. 222) sincerity ; he takes notice (p. 216) of human faults ; he disapproves of vice (p. 211) and punishes it ; the fragrance of virtue is perceived (p. 213. 215. 222) by the Supreme ; and he is influenced (p. 214) by virtuous conduct ; while the tyrant Chów (p. 210) is punished for setting aside his worship. He sometimes withholds his protection, (p. 214) and sends down calamities, cutting off (p. 215) thrones and dynasties ; though these calamities, brought on men, are not to be ascribed to him (p. 224), so much as to the vices of wicked rulers ; in such instances, the Supreme Ruler sometimes (p. 224) refuses to assist men on account of their wickedness, and will not even exempt sovereigns (p. 225) from the general calamity, nor afford them room for escape (p. 225), nor estimate (p. 225) the devotedness of his worshippers, when he reverses his usual proceedings (p. 223), and brings down calamities on mankind.

11. With regard to the sacrifices and services to be paid to the Supreme Ruler, we find that sacrifices (p. 242, 243, 247) were to be offered to him generally ; but the especial offering due to him was that presented at the border of the country, or the 郊 keaou sacrifice, (p. 204, 211, 230, 247, 249 three times) which has been also called the celestial sacrifice, on account of its being peculiarly appropriated to Heaven ; we sometimes find both the 郊 keaou and 社 sháy, or the celestial and terrestrial sacrifices, presented to him, (p. 204, 205, 251,) when the Chinese chose to recognize the Ruling Power under the dual form, as heaven and earth ; further the 類 lúy, or corresponding sacrifice (p. 227. 243) was sometimes presented to the Supreme Ruler, when they had occasion to sacrifice to him at an unusual time ; at which time, it not being customary to offer the celestial sacrifice, they presented one corresponding thereto ; again, the offering presented to the Supreme Ruler was called (242 twice, 247) 禋 yin, a pure sacrifice, and (p. 241, 242) a great sacrifice ; a burnt-offering (p. 232) was also especially presented to the Supreme Ruler ; while the sacrifices offered to him were occasionally preceded (p. 249) by services of minor importance, in order to prepare the mind for the more solemn services, and to proceed step by step to the higher and more important duty ; the Supreme Ruler was supposed to be pacified (p. 222, 250) by such sacrifices, and to enjoy (p. 212) the services of the good : he is said to have accepted of sacrifices (p. 228) when every ceremony was in perfect order ; boiled flesh (p. 233) was occasionally presented to him ; and the sages sacrificed (p. 234) to the Supreme Ruler, in order to acknow-

ledge his favours ; he was prayed to (p. 65, 228) for grain ; Wăn-wâng is said to have served the Supreme Ruler (p. 219) in an intelligent manner ; indeed it was the peculiar business of the emperor to serve (p. 232) the Supreme Ruler ; intelligent kings (p. 232) are said to have attended to this duty; and the most ill-favoured person, (p. 207) after having properly prepared himself by fasting and bathing, was considered eligible to serve the Supreme ; clever men (p. 215, 216) honoured the Supreme ; respect towards the Supreme Ruler (p. 227) was required from all ; and he was not to be served (p. 102) with common feelings, nor (p. 103) with common things ; music was among the requisites (p. 233 twice) to be employed in serving the Supreme ; and the Supreme Ruler is invited (p. 249) to partake of the sacrifices offered.

12. As the results of such sacrifices, we are told, that the Supreme Ruler sometimes vouchsafed his presence, see page 249 ; and that he so regarded with favour a lady, who worshipped him with sincerity, as to cause her miraculously to conceive and bring forth a son, see page 226.

13. The Supreme Ruler is appealed to, on the taking of an oath, see page 241 ; while the people curse before him, see page 156.

14. He is supposed to be gratified by the putting to death of hypocritical worshippers, see page 156.

15. The Taouists say, that he sent a priest of Taóu to the Great Yù, in order to teach him how to drain off the waters of the delugee, see page 248.

16. Human rulers are required to assist the Supreme Ruler in governing mankind, see page 206 twice ; and while acting thus they are said to be carrying out his authority, see p. 213.

17. The word Supreme Ruler is sometimes considered as synonymous with Heaven, and the one word is explained by the other in K'hang-he ; but it is evident that the reference is in such cases to the ruling power above, in the same way that the Hebrews were accustomed to say, that the Heavens do rule ; the terms are also used interchangeably, in the sense of rewarding the good and punishing the bad, see page 210 ; and with respect to the celestial decrees, which determine the rise and fall of empires, see 211 : but an ancient author tells us, that Heaven is not to be confounded with the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens, (see page 242) ; while a later writer, who had seen the books of Christians, says, that to refrain from adoring the heavens, which lie partly to the east and partly to the west, and not to honour the earth, which is trod under our feet, while we worship the Supreme Ruler, is reasonable, see page 253 ; we meet with frequent instances,

moreover, of their anxiety to make clear the distinction between the canopy of heaven and the Supreme Potentate; which we shall see more particularly, when we come to treat of the word 帝 té, Ruler.

18. Human ancestors are sometimes associated with the Supreme Ruler in acts of worship, see pages 230, 231; but the idea intended to be conveyed by this ceremony is, that as the Supreme Ruler is the origin of all things, so human ancestors and parents are the more immediate authors of our being, and they may therefore be associated together, in acknowledging the source from which we sprang. It will of course be understood, that we are not here pleading for the practice, but only endeavouring to account for the adoption of it by the Chinese, with whom the worship of ancestors holds so high a place. Still we are far from believing that even the Chinese considered human ancestors to be on a par with the author of all, though they did improperly associate them in sacrifice: while the practice was instituted mainly with reference to the case of How-tseïh, who was supposed to be miraculously conceived, and of celestial origin.

19. Human rulers are also viewed as corresponding to the Supreme Ruler, in view of their supremacy over the affairs of the empire, as the Highest Potentate is supreme over the universe. See page 204, four times, and page 218. Human rulers are also ranked with the Supreme, with reference to their virtue, in consequence of which they obtain universal rule. See page 210, twice.

20. With regard to the arrangement in which we find the Supreme Ruler placed, we may observe, that the Chinese generally put the Highest Potentate first, and then the Shîns of heaven and earth, with the manes of ancestors; see page 54, twice, 210, and 227, 228. But two cases are met with, in which the Shîns are put before the Supreme Ruler, see page 77, where it is done to prevent the reader falling into a mistake, by supposing that the Kweì Shîns were the spirits of the Supreme Ruler; so also in page 229, the like inverted arrangement is observed, in order to carry out the climax from the less to the greater.

21. One Chinese author says, that the Supreme Ruler is not to be confounded with the images found in the temples, see page 185, which are the inventions of later ages, and were not known at the Confucian period.

22. A late writer, who had met with Christian books, complains that Europeans have borrowed the idea of the Supreme Ruler from the Six Classics, and yet abuse the religions of China, see page 253. From which we infer, that

the Chinese literati find no fault with the justness of the expression, but only complain of our borrowing it from them; as if we were not at liberty to avail ourselves of all the stores which the language contains.

23. The titles given to the Supreme Ruler, in various parts of the preceding pages, shew the estimation in which the Chinese held that august Being. The most common, and most ancient, as it occurs in the Book of Odes, is 昊天上帝 the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens; this title is not to be considered as the name of another God, like the 玄天上帝 Heuên t'hëen sháng té, of the Taóu sect; but as another way of expressing the name of the same being, who alone can read the heart, and estimate and reward the devotions of mankind, see page 65. During a severe drought, also, when the people trembled, as if the thunders rattled over their heads, and when the poor remnant of the Chow race were almost cut off to a man, the emperor ascribed the desolating scourge to the vengeance of the 昊天上帝 Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens, who had not even exempted the monarch from the universal calamity; Seuen-wâng, the then ruling prince, having appealed to the spirits of the former dukes in vain, applied at last to the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens, to grant him a method of escape. See page 225. In the commentary to the Chow-lè, we have a long dissertation on the title in question, where the writer says, that the Supreme Ruler of the Glorious Heavens controls nature and its elements, that his throne is on high, and that to him divine honours must be offered, while he is not to be confounded with Heaven on the one hand, nor with the deities presiding over the five elements on the other. See page 242, 243. This was also the title that the emperor Shún is said to have devised for the Lord and Governor of all, see page 248. Another very ancient title, is that of 皇上帝 Hwâng sháng té, the august Supreme Ruler, who originally conferred the just medium, or a virtuous nature, on mankind, see page 208; and regarding whom it is said that the retributions of Providence are the doings of this august Supreme Ruler, see page 217. But this is not to be considered as the title of another deity, no more than Jehovah Elohim, or the Lord God, ought to be looked upon as a separate divinity from Elohim, or God, used alone, when met with in the Hebrew Scriptures. A third title is, that of 皇天上帝 Hwâng t'hëen Sháng té, met with in the Shoo-king, where Imperial Heaven's Supreme Ruler, is spoken as chang-

ing the decree in favour of his chief son, the emperor of the Yin dynasty, and appointing over the empire the house of Chow, which had then attained universal rule. Here it is evident, also, that the same Supreme Potentate is referred to, by whom alone kings reign, and prince's decree justice. In the Book of Rites, we meet with a passage, where the people are commanded to exert their utmost strength to serve 皇天上帝 the Supreme Ruler of the Imperial Heavens, in order to pray for blessings on the land. See page 227. A fourth title is, the 明昭上帝 Mîng chaóu Sháng té, the bright and glorious Supreme Ruler, who gives the people a plentiful harvest, which they receive as his bright gift, see page 225. A fifth title is that supposed to be ascribed by Shún to the Lord and Governor of all, when he called him 天主大帝 the Great God and Lord of Heaven, see page 248; and lastly, that adopted by a European writer in Chinese, 天主上帝 the Supreme God and Lord of Heaven. See page 256. In none of which do we discern any trace of the adoring different and separate divinities under these various titles, but perceive that it is the title of one and the same Supreme God.

24. We add one extract to shew that the word 上帝 Sháng té is capable of assuming the plural form, which some have affected to doubt. For in one of the Classics of the sect of Taóu, we meet with the phrase 諸天上帝 all the Supreme Rulers of the various heavens, see page 247; of these heavens, the Taouists suppose, that there are thirty-three, with a separate divinity over each, who, being supreme in his own department, is called the Supreme Ruler of that heaven.

25. One instance occurs in which the word Supreme Ruler is applied to a human ruler, but that is in the sense of an autocrat, who exercises despotic sway on earth, as the Supreme Ruler governs universal nature, and keeps all beneath his sway. See page 217.

26. A single instance is found of the Chinese speaking disparagingly of the Supreme Ruler, when they consider him in the light of the author of evil; but the writer even there checks and corrects himself, ascribing all goodness to him as its author, and all wickedness to man, see p. 223. Would that we could say as much of western writers.

27. The representation of the Supreme Ruler, enthroned in heaven, and the spirits of the just, according to the Chinese ideas, ascending and descending in his presence, demands our particular attention, see page 218, 251. See also 1 Kings xxii. 19. Job. i, 6.

28. Mistakes are anticipated, and sought to be corrected, by the Chinese commentators on the classics, who supposing it possible that such misapprehensions may arise, tell us distinctly, that it is a mistake to imagine that the 五帝 five rulers, presiding over the elements, are synonymous with 上帝 the Supreme Ruler; that it is wrong also to think that the Supreme Ruler is unequal to the five rulers: further they decry the idea, that the Supreme Ruler is identical with Heaven, or that he is at all inferior to Heaven, but the One Supreme Lord and Governor of all. See pages 242, 243.

Thus out of 175 instances in which the word Sháng-té is used, in the Chinese classics, only one refers to human rulers, and all the rest to the Supreme Ruler; and in only one instance of the latter class is any thing said complainingly or disparagingly of the Highest Potentate; which querulous expression is, however, immediately suppressed, and the opposite view given. In no case do we find Sháng-té exhibited under any figurative representations; indeed, we are warned against confounding him with the images in the temples; while the Supreme Ruler is declared, again and again, to be distinct from the visible heavens. We need scarcely add, that no intimation is given us, in all the Chinese classics of any thing like the voluptuous character which is attributed to the Jupiter of the Greeks being ascribed him who is Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese; no body, parts, or passions being assigned to him; and the main idea attached to the Sháng-té, being that of universal supremacy, uncontrollable power, justice, glory, majesty, and dominion. He has neither wife nor children, unless we except the instance of the emperor of the Yin dynasty being spoken of metaphorically as his chief son. He is sometimes alluded to as synonymous with Heaven, on account of his elevation, and the over-shadowing protection he affords; and is sometimes associated with the autocrats of earth, in allusion to their universally presiding over the empire; but we are distinctly informed, that he is essentially different from all these. Such is the view given us, in the Chinese classics, of the Supreme Ruler; the superstitious of later ages have gradually corrupted the original idea attached to Sháng-té, and applied the name, with various additions, to different deities, the creatures of their own imaginations, to whom they have erected temples, dedicated images, and appointed birth and feast days; but these are as different from him whom the ancients worshipped under the title of the Supreme Ruler, as the Jove of the western world is from Jehovah, the God and Father of all, from whom the name of the fabled father of gods and men, is probably derived.

We now proceed to the consideration of the word 帝 Té, Ruler, which the attentive reader will have seen is, in a number of instances, used interchangeably with Sháng-té, the Supreme Ruler, in the extracts given throughout the preceding pages: thus we find,

29. That 帝 Té, Ruler, or, as we are compelled to render it, God, is designated the Supreme and undivided One, the Infinite Extreme, the First Beginning, who constituted heaven and earth, produced light and darkness, brought about the four seasons, and appointed the Kweì Shîns; he existed before the powers of nature were divided, and before the myriad of things were produced; thus wonderful was the Supreme One. See page 82, 83, 84. Té, the (Supreme) Ruler, or God, is spoken of as causing things to issue forth, page 234; all things are said to have come originally from him, page 231, and the celestial sacrifice is offered to him, as referring with gratitude to him as the origin of all things, page 231; it is he that animates the issuings forth of nature's springs, page 233, and encourages their revertings, page 233; he produces and completes the myriad of things, page 233, and causes the energies of nature to bud forth and move on, in the spring of the year; his outgoings and incomings are illustrated by the goings forth and returnings of nature, page 235, 237; his adjustings are seen in nature's adjustings, p. 237; he is displayed in nature's displays, p. 237; he superintends the whole nourishing of nature, page 237, and governs this universal fabric, see page 237; the contentions of nature are of his creating, page 228; he causes things to revert to their proper place, page 228, and manages the completion of all, see page 228. From all which quotations from the Confucian classics we gather, that 帝 Té, God, is the author of being, the source of existence, and the great founder of all. The principal classic of the sect of Taóu also says, that 帝 Té, God, is the beginning of all things. See page 246.

30. Té, or God, is said to be the ruler of the invisible world, to whom departed spirits pray with acceptance, see page 145; and the spirit of Wăn-wâng is said to ascend and descend, in the presence of the Supreme, where he shines brightly in the realms above, see page 185, 218. He is thus represented as the Divine Majesty of the Heavens, ruling over the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth.

31. Té, or God, is set forth as the supreme disposer of the fate of princes; it was he that appointed T'hang to rule over the empire, on account of his virtue, page 227; for he raises up virtuous sovereigns, page 220, while he conducts intelligent princes to the throne, page 220. It is his decree

that appoints the empire to any one, page 218, 225; his decrees are not to be opposed, page 227; and his protection is necessary to the retention of the sceptre, page 249; hence rulers must be obedient to Him, page 157. See also under article 7, of this arrangement.

32. Té, is represented as the God of Providence, for he appoints corn for the universal nourishment of living things, page 225; and sends down his inflictions, page 213; he confers favours, page 157, and approves of the virtuous, page 213; his dealings are spoken of as the Divine dispensations, page 213; and his blessing being obtained, may be handed down to posterity, page 221; he regulates the mind of the virtuous, page 220; and is supposed by the present imperial family to have conferred the name of Ghio-ro on the reigning Tartar race, page 249; but his laws must be followed out, in order to attain perfection, page 221. See under article 10, of the present arrangement.

33. 帝 Té, God, is represented as speaking to Wăn-wâng, guarding him against selfishness, urging him to virtue, and giving him directions regarding his conduct, see page 221. In what way the Chinese suppose the Divine Being to have communicated his will to the monarch in question does not appear, neither is it material; all we wish to argue from it is, that the idea of the Ruler of Heaven conveying his wishes to rulers on earth is not strange to the Chinese, while it assigns an identity and personality to that Being, which is not embodied in the vague notion of Heaven, or Nature, Providence, or an undefined Power.

34. A modern Chinese writer tells us, that the ancient sages constantly alluded to Heaven, under the designation of 帝 the (Supreme) Ruler, in order to over-awe, and instruct mankind, see page 251. Thus we find the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler is regarded with the veneration with which the Chinese generally contemplate Heaven, and honoured with the 郊 celestial sacrifice, see page 81, 230. In sacrificing to him, the victim was to be kept up in the stall for three months, page 231; the main thing to be observed, however, in sacrificing to him, was sincerity, page 233, and intelligence page 205, while the ceremony was to be performed in the illustrious hall, page 233. His worship was considered fortunate, or a source of bliss, page 233. See also article 11, of the present arrangement.

35. The Chinese afford us some explanations on the subject of 帝 Té alone, as they do on the phrase 上帝 Sháng-té, in combination. Thus they say, the classics sometimes speak

of 天 Heaven, and sometimes of 帝 its Ruler. From which we are to understand, they say, that when allusion is made to the protecting influence which overshadows mankind, the word Heaven is used, page 214; or when they speak of the visible canopy over our heads, and the awe which it inspires, they employ the word Heaven, see page 217; or when allusion is made to the form and substance of the body of Heaven, they use the same term, see page 242; for Heaven, they continue, is the general appellation for the original influences of nature, see page 242; but that, when reference is made to the Lord of all, the word 帝 (Supreme) Ruler is used, see pages 214, 217, 242, 243; for 帝 Té is 天之主宰 the Lord and Governor of heaven, see pages 235, 248, 250; in fact, Heaven is the general appellation given to the original energy of nature, and the word 帝 Ruler is employed when this energy is said to be displayed, see page 242. See also article 28, of the present arrangment.

36. The 帝之神 wonderful influence, or inscrutable excellence of the Supreme, is spoken of page 236, and 帝神 the spirit of the Supreme is said to enjoy the celestial sacrifice offered by Yùng-ching, one of the emperors of the present dynasty. see page 249. From which we infer that the Chinese are in the habit of ascribing invisibility and intelligence to the Lord of all. See art. 4 of this arrangement.

37. The word 帝 Té is indeed sometimes used for various invisible and intelligent beings, the objects of worship, in the same way as the word 神 shîn is employed, though in a more exalted sense; thus the 帝 presiding deity on the occasion of a certain sacrifice was 太皡 T'haé-haou, while the 神 subordinate genius associated with him in the service, was 句芒 Ków-mâng, the son of 少皡 Shaòu-haou, himself a descendant of 太皡 T'haé-haou; from which we may gather, that as T'haé-haou was so far superior to Ków-mâng in age and rank, so the Té of the one was far above the Shîn of the other. This argument may appear to us of little force, but not so to the Chinese. The same idea is seen throughout the whole of the quotations from the Book of Rites referred to, see page 73, 74. The word 帝 Té, when aplied to these presiding deities, is generally confined to five, represented by the five ancient emperors, viz. Fŭh-he, or T'haé-haou; Shîn-nûng, or Yen-té; Yèn-heûng, or Hwâng-té; Kin-tëen, or Shaòu-haou; and Kaou-yâng, or

Chuen-heĕh ; these are called the 人帝 human rulers on earth, who correspond to the 天帝 celestial rulers in heaven ; these latter are supposed to preside over the five elements and five colours, see pages 242, 243, and 260. These five rulers are, however, distinguished from the Supreme Ruler. See p. 243.

38. We meet with the word 帝 Té, applied to a divine person of gigantic stature, in whose footsteps Keang-yuên trod, and conceived the celebrated Hów-tseĭh, in a miraculous manner, see p. 222.

39. The title 天帝 Ruler, or God of Heaven, is given in the commentary on the Tsò-chuén to the Lord of the upper world, to whom an individual prayed and obtained a favour. It is evident from the context that 天帝 the Ruler of Heaven is synonymous with the Supreme Potentate, see p. 157. The same title is met with in a Buddhist classic, p. 200.

40. The phrase 天主 t'hëen choò, often occurs in a Buddhist work, applied to the god *Sakya mun-a*, or Buddha, see page, 249.

41. The word 帝 God is frequently found prefixed to the name *Sakya mun-a*, and is read thus : 帝釋 Té-shĭh, the God Buddha, see pages 201 and 248.

42. The word 帝女 Té nyù, a divine female, or goddess, is met with in a Buddhist work, see p. 249.

43. The phrase 大帝 Great God occurs frequently in a Taouist classic, see page 246 ; as also 天地水官帝 the God and Ruler of heaven, earth, and sea, see p. 247.

Thus we have adduced upwards of ninety instances from the Confucian classics in which 帝 Té is used synonymously with 上帝 Sháng-té, the Supreme Ruler, and must be translated the most High God. Sixteen cases are adduced of Té being used by classical writers for the gods of the various elements and seasons ; numerous instances also occur in the Buddhist and Taouist classics, in which the word Té is used for God, as they understood the term, and is applied both to Buddha, and the imaginary deities of Taóu : from which we infer, that 帝 Té by itself has sufficient classical authority to warrant its being used for the Supreme Potentate ; while the adoption of the term by all the sects for deities of different orders, as well as for earthly monarchs and judges, shews us that 帝 Té is the exact representative of Elohim, and is the generic term for God ; more particularly when 上 Sháng is prefixed, it then expresses the idea of the

most High 帝 God, and is equivalent to the word God, *par excellence*, as it is expressed in capitals, or with a capital letter, in our editions of the Bible. 主 Chòò, alone, might be made to represent Lord in general, but when the Lord Jehovah is intended, 上主 Sháng chòò, or 天主 T'hëen chòò, might be safely employed.

Let us apply this theory to the translation of those parts of the Scriptures, where the true God and false gods are spok n of, both being represented by *Elohim* or *Theos* in the original.

Exodus xx. 2, 3. " I am the Lord thy God, &c. Thou shalt have none other gods before me:" which may be rendered 吾乃上主爾之上帝在余面前爾不可有別帝也 literally, I am the High Lord, thy Supreme God, thou shalt have none other gods before me.

1 Kings xviii. 21, 27. If the Lord be God, follow him: but cry aloud, for Baal is a god. 若上主乃上帝則從之但爾當高呼也蓋巴勒眞是個帝。

Psalm lxxxii. 4. God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the gods. 上帝立在權者之會其諦在諸帝之中焉。

Psalm lxxxii. 6. I said ye are gods, and all of you children of the most High, but ye shall die like men. 吾云爾等乃帝皆至上者之子但爾必死如人焉。

John. x. 34, 35. I said ye are gods; if he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, say ye of me, thou blasphemest, becase I said I am the son of God? 吾云爾等乃帝若領上帝之道者被稱爲帝爾何曰我妄言因我自稱上帝之子乎。

1 Cor. viii. 4, 6. There is none other God but one; for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth, as there be gods many and lords many, yet to us there is one God. 上帝乃一無他蓋天地內雖有稱帝如有多帝多主但在我意獨一上帝也。

Acts vii. 43. Your God Remphan. 爾之帝藍番、

Acts xiv. 11. The gods. 諸帝

2 Cor. iv. 4. The god of this world. 此世之帝

Acts xix. 37. Goddess, 帝女 See also 1 Kings xi. 5.

Acts vii. 40. Make us gods, 替我作諸帝

Dan. xi. 36. The God of gods, 諸帝之上帝

Dan. xi. 37. Not regard any god, 不理何帝
Dan. xi. 38. A god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor, 列祖所不識之帝其必供奉也
Habukkuk i. 11. Imputing this his power unto his god, 以此能力歸其帝也
2 Chron. xxxii. 15. No god of any nation was able to deliver his people, 不論何國之帝無可救其民也
Exodus xii. 12. The gods of Egypt, 挨及多之帝 Gen. xxxv. 2. Strange gods, 異帝
Ps. lxxxvi. 8. Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord, 列帝之中無一可比得爾者上主也
Is. xliv. 6. Besides me there is no god, 除我之外無别帝矣
2 Chron. xiii. 9. Priests unto them that are no gods, 爲主祭以事非帝矣
Ps. viii. 5. Thou madest him a little lower than the Elohim, 爾暫降之諸帝之下
Exodus xxi. 6. And he shall bring him to the Elohim, 必帶之見諸帝
Jonah. i. 5. They cried every man unto his god, 各禱其帝。 Ruth i. 16. Thy God shall be my God, 爾之帝必我之帝也
1 Samuel xxviii. 13. I see gods arising out of the earth. 我觀諸帝由地升來。

As some discussion has arisen regarding the most suitable word for *spirit*, and as some persons have recommended the word 靈 Lîng, instead of 神 Shîn, we will here adduce such passages as occur to us in which the word 靈 lîng is found, in order to give the reader some idea of its import.

In the discussion on the lost fifth chapter of the 大學 Tá hëŏ, we have the following sentiment: "Owing to the 靈 *intelligence* of the human mind, every one possesses a certain degree of knowledge."

In the first book of 孟子 Măng-tszè, page 3, we have a quotation from the Book of Odes, to the following effect: "Measure off the 靈臺 *wonderful* terrace, measure it off, and make it." The commentator tells us, that the wonderful terrace, was a name given to Wăn-wâng's terrace by the people; who were so pleased with what he did, as to give this appellation to the construction erected by him. On referring to the Book of Odes, from which the quotation is made, we find the commentator assigning, as the reason of the above designa-

tion to the terrace, that it was so rapidly executed, and so suddenly completed, that it appeared as if it had been the work of 神靈 invisible beings. Hence the most suitable term for 靈 ling, in this connection, is wonderful or miraculous. The same term is applied to a park and a pool, connected with the terrace, which must also be translated in the same manner.

In the Shoo-king, Book IV. section 1. we have the following passage: "Heaven and earth are the parents of the myriad of things; and amongst all animals, man is the most 靈 *intelligent.*" Upon which the commentator says, "when the various animals were produced, human beings were found to be the most subtile and 靈 intelligent, being provided with all good principles, and fully prepared with every virtue, far surpassing all other living things in knowledge and perception."

In the 5th book, section 3rd, we read as follows:—"The king further said, Oh you numerous officers of the Yin dynasty, now has our king of Chow been able, in a very 靈 *worthy* manner, to undertake the business imposed on him by the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler." Here the commentator tells us, that 靈 ling, means *good.*

In the 5th book, 7th section, we have a similar passage, "He speculated on the decree of the 帝 (Supreme) Ruler, and yet could not increase the things on which the people depended for support; while he extensively brought down inflictions on the people, and multiplied the confusions of China; the causes of these things originated in the universal disorders of the palace, in consequence of which he was unable 靈 *worthily* to receive the multitude, (as his subjects.)" The paraphrase here explains the word 靈 ling by 善 *good.*

In the same section occurs another passage: "Our king of Chow alone could 靈 *worthily* receive the multitudes (as his subjects.)" Here also 靈 ling is interpreted to mean *good.*

In the 6th book, 8th section, we read, "The people of Meaou were not 靈 *good*, and conducted their government on the principle of inflicting punishment." The explanation here given of 靈 ling, is also 善 good.

We now turn to the Book of Odes, and in the 生民 Săng-min section, read as follows: "Her first-born was brought forth as a lamb, without bursting or tearing, without harm or injury, to manifest the 靈 *miraculous* nature of the conception." The commentator here explains 靈 ling by strange and unusual; while the paraphrast says, that the birth was different from the usual course, in order to shew, that when a sage is born, his entrance into the world is very different from that of common men.

In the last section of the same work, we read, "The city of Shang

is well-regulated, and an example to all around, how celebrated her fame, and how glorious her 靈 dignity!" The paraphrast here explains the term in question by 威靈 dignity, majesty, intimidating power.

In the Book of Rites, in the 月令 Yuĕ-lîng section, we read of offerings being prepared to be sacrificed to the Shîns from all quarters, and the 靈 spirits residing in the aneestorial temples, and at the altars of the *lares rustici*." Thus 靈 lîng here means, the manes and lares to which the people were accustomed to present sacrifices.

In the 左傳 Tsò-chuén, in the 3rd year of 隱公 Yín-kung, we read of Mŭh, the duke of Súng, charging his minister to raise his brother's son to the throne after his death, saying, "If by your 靈 awe-inspiring influence, I should be able to die a natural death, I shall then have something to reply to my brother, the late duke, in the shades below." Here the commentator couples 威靈 weí lîng together, and of course the meaning of the word must be dignity and intimidating influence.

In the same work, under date of the 23rd year of He-kung, the duke of Tsin assures the ruler of Tsoŏ, that "if by his 靈 awe-inspiring influence, he should be able to return to his country, he would manifest his gratitude, by retiring before his troops, in any future contest that might take place between them." Here the meaning of the term under discussion is the same as in the last quoted sentence.

Further on, under date of the 13th year of Sëang-kung, we have another phrase of similar import with the two preceding; where the ruler of Tsoŏ, after having recommended himself to the 靈 awe-inspiring influence of one of his ministers, requests that, after his death, he would assign him the posthumous title of 靈 lîng, which signifies in that connection, one who brought about some confusion, which has not however proceeded to utter ruin.

Again, under date of the 15th year of Chaóu-kung, an ambassador from the Tsin country, at the court of Chow, being asked why the Tsin state did not maintain the dignity of the royal house of Chow, as others had done, replied, That the princes of the empire, when appointed to their different domains, were in the habit of receiving the regalia from the imperial court, as significant of their defending their hearths and altars; these then might be presented at court, and constitute a reason for intercourse. But the Tsin people dwelt in the hill country, near to the regions of barbarians, and far from the royal house, so that the 靈 *favours* of the king did not reach them, while they had no leisure from the busy negotiations which they had to maintain with the barbarians." Lîng is here explained by 寵 chùng, favour.

Moreover, under date of the 21st year of Chaóu-kung, Kung-tszè-chìng, returned from the Tsin country, to the help of Súng; when

one Hwa-paou addressed him by name. Chîng took offence at this, and turned his back on him; when he was about to shoot him, Hwa-paou also bent his bow; upon this, Kung-tszè-chîng cried out, May the 靈 *manes* of my deceased father Pîng-kung now be friend me.

In the Imperial Dictionary, under the word 靈 lîng, Kang-he, under the first class of meanings, joins two words of nearly similar import, in order to explain the term in question, and gives us the phrase 神靈 subtile influence, quoting in proof a passage from the 大戴禮 Tá-taé-lè, to the following effect: "the subtile influence of the male principle of nature, is called 神 Shîn, while that of the female principle of nature, is called 靈 lîng. He then quotes the passage from the 4th Book, and 1st section of the Shoo-king, where the meaning is subtile and intelligent, as has been already given; so also the passage from the 生民 Săng-mîn section of the Book of Odes, where Lîng means miraculous, as we have already seen; also a work treating on that passage in the 靈臺 Lîng-taê section of the same book, which we have seen fit to render wonderful and miraculous, as above; adding that, whatsoever is subtile and intelligent in reference to 神 invisible beings, is called 靈 lîng: meaning probably, that the terrace in question was completed so expeditiously and well, that it looked like the work of invisible beings. Under the second class of meanings, he calls 靈 lîng, good; and then quotes a sentence from the 鄘風 Yung-fung Ode, treating of the beneficial rain that had fallen. In the third class of meanings, he says that 靈 lîng means happy. Under the fourth, that it means a necromancer. Under the fifth, he adduces the words 靈氛 lîng fun, as the name of a celebrated prognosticator. Under the sixth class of meanings, 靈鼓 lîng koò is given, as the name of a six-sided drum. Under the seventh, 芻靈 tsoo lîng is given, as the man of straw used at funerals, to represent the dead. Under the eighth, 葱靈 tsung lîng, is said to be a baggage waggon. Under the ninth, 曜靈 yaou lîng, is a phrase used for the sun; and the three lîngs, are said to signify the sun, moon, and stars. Under the tenth, 靈 lîng is defined to be grace and favour. Under the eleventh, we have the 四靈 four fabulous animal, viz. griffins, phœnixes, singing tortoises, and dragons; while the 爾雅 Urh-yày is quoted, as referring to the 靈龜 fabulous tortoise, which is said to be able to sing; and a historical work is brought in saying, that "below there are the prostrate fabulous animals." Under the twelfth head, we have the meaning attached to the term in question, when used as a posthumous title; thus when a prince has during his lifetime "created confusion, without

bringing things to ruin," his posthumous title will be 靈 lîng ; so also when "he has not been diligent in perfecting his fame," or when "his designs have not been accomplished till after his death," or when "after his death, his mysterious energies have become apparent," or when "he has been fond of sacrificing to ghosts and fairies," or when "he has been too much conversant with Kwei Shîns or invisible beings ;" in all these cases, his title after death would be 靈 lîng. Kang-he goes on to give the character in question as the name of a district, and a surname ; shewing also, that it takes different sounds in order to make it rhyme in poetry ; in which also it is coupled with the word 仙 fairy.

By a reference to the preceding part of this essay, it will be seen that on the 9th and 10th pages, the 靈 efficacious or subtile part of the principle of the nature is spoken of; and in the 15th and 16th pages, the 靈 efficacy of the Kweì Shîns : in page 66, we read of the 神靈 efficaciousness or vitality of the Shîns of the mountains; on page 172 the Kweìs are said to be sometimes efficacious in answering prayers. In page 165 we read of the 神靈 invisible efficacy or spirituality inherent in the breath of nature: in page 182, the Shîn is called the 神 spiritual or vital part of the male, and the Kweì that of the female principle of nature; at page 97 we read of the soul of man, as diffusing itself abroad and mounting aloft to become 神靈 an invisible and spiritual being ; in page 95, the 氣靈 k'hé lîng is called the more intelligent part of the finer spirit; and the 魄靈 pĭh lîng, the more subtile part of the grosser spirit ; in page 97, the phrase 精靈 tsing lîng occurs as the subtile essence of things, and again in the sense of subtile and refined spiritual essence ; while page 60 talks of 靈保 the invisible surety, or the representative of the dead at the sacrifices. In page 195 the Taóuists say, that 神 spirituality obtained the principle of unity, in order to become 靈 efficacious ; and in page 200 we read of the descending 靈 spirit of Buddha.

In bringing together the various ideas presented before us in the above extracts. we shall see that the meanings attached to the term are :

1st. The subtile influence of nature, in which sense it occurs six times, combined most commomly with Shîn. To this may be added those passages, in which it has been transtated in the earlier part of this essay, efficacious, vital, or spiritual ; but which may also bear the same interpretation Thus we have the efficacy or subtile influence of the Kweì Shîns, and of the mountain genii, occurring four times. We have moreover the phrase Tsing lîng twice occurring, and referring to the subtile essence of things ; and the corresponding terms K'hé lîng, and Pĭh lîng, used in allusion to the subtility of the finer and coarser parts of the spirit of man.

2d. Allied to this class of meanings are those uses of the word

Ling in the sense of subtile and intelligent, occurring four times; and wonderful and miraculous, as if caused by the agency of invisible beings, coming before us six times.

3d. We have also adduced four instances, in which the word Lîng bears the sense of dignified, awe-inspiring, intimidating, and protecting.

4th. Five cases occur in which Lîng must be rendered good, worthy, or suitable.

5th. Two in which it means grace or favour.

6th. One in which it signifies happy.

7th. One instance occurs in which Shîn lîng refers to invisible beings, and one to the soul of man.

8th. Two cases are found in which Lîng imports the manes of ancestors.

9th. One in which it means the spirit of Buddha.

10th. Three cases are brought forward of the application of Lîng to fabulous animals.

11th. One instance of its being used for the man of straw, and one for the invisible surety, employed at funerals.

12th. One case is given of lîng as used for a necromancer, and another for the name of a celebrated prognosticator.

13th. Lîng is used for a six-sided drum.

14th. For a baggage waggon.

15th. It is also used in combination with other characters, once for the sun, and once for the heavenly bodies.

16th. Once it occurs in connection with fairy.

17th. Once as the perfection of the spirituality, which results in complete emptiness, according to the system of the Taouists.

18th. And lastly it is employed in posthumous titles, as referring to the completion of one's fame after death, and to a superstitious fondness for ghosts and spirits, while living.

Taking all these meanings together, we are compelled to dissent from the position that Lîng, with the addition of Shíng, would be a good translation for the Holy Sp'rit. We know from experience what a propensity there is in the human mind to overlook the personality of the Divine Spirit, and to consider him merely in the light of an afflatus, an attribute, or an eastern hyperbole; and were a term employed, which means principally the subtile influence of nature, and occurs chiefly in the adjective form, we fear that the future neologists of China would not fail to make a handle of it, to pervert the views of the expected converts in this important country. For the same reason, we should object to the use of the word 風 fung, wind, or 氣 k'hé, which latter is however. preferable, as referring to the breath of nature, and the energy by which all nature is produced and agitated; while the former only conveys the idea of wind, custom, and the influence of the sages; but to all these we have the same objection, viz. that it is difficult or imposible to attach the idea of personality, individuality, or separate and distinct action to either of them, while all of these can be predicated of the word Shîn, which not unfrequently means a spirit, in the fullest sense of the word.